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APPENDIX
TO THE JOURNAL OF
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VOL. IV

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION
TO
MODERN ISLAMIC DEVELOPMENT IN
INDIA AND PAKISTAN
1700-1955

By
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M. A. (McGill).

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Dedicated to
the memory of my brother
Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad Khan
who died early and young.

PREFACE

A bibliographical introduction to the literature dealing with major Islamic developments in modern India and Pakistan is offered in this study. The period covered is from 1700 to 1955. The term "Islamic" has been chosen in deliberate preference to "Muslim" in order to limit the treatment to religio-intellectual movements of outstanding significance. Prominent among these are the movements associated with the names of Shāh Walī Allāh, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd and religious revivalism, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān and Aligarh modernism, Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī and Khilāfat movement, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Pakistan.

The movements mentioned above, as well as long exposure of Indo-Muslim culture to Western science and philosophy have deeply influenced the Muslims of the sub-continent, and have given their way of thinking a distinctive evolution and colouring which differ from those of the Muslims of other countries. This has been the case in spite of the strong universal appeal of Islam. Therefore, in order to gain an understanding of contemporary Muslim thought and action in the subcontinent, consideration of these movements is essential.

The facts of history in modern Muslim India and Pakistan reveal a definite reformist trend beginning with Shāh Walī Allāh, who represents a surprising modernism some years prior to the impact of western influence on Indian Islam. His influence is reflected in almost all subsequent Islamic religio-intellectual development of the region to the present day. That being so, an inherent connection between the above various movements is assumed in this study.

This work has been arranged into two parts with the famous Sipahi Mutiny of 1857-1858 as the dividing point. A short introduction has been placed at the head of each part with a brief statement about the contents of that part. The parts in turn have been divided into chapters, and sections, based on the nature of the subject matter treated. The books and articles listed

have all been inspected personally, except in those instances where specific mention is made to the contrary, and then only when publication has been authentically established.

The present study developed out of research undertaken at the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University during the academic session 1954-1955, and subsequently submitted there in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree. I wish to take this opportunity to thank the Institute and its Director, Professor Willfred Cantwell Smith, for making this research possible through my appointment as a Graduate Fellow from 1953 to 1955, as well as for the kind hospitality and guidance extended to me, particularly by Professor Smith and Dr. Muhammad Da'ud Rahbar. I would also like to express my appreciation to the Asia Foundation of San Francisco for their grant, which made possible my stay for an extra semester at McGill University, as well as for one semester as Research Fellow in the Institute of East Asiatic Studies, University of California at Berkeley. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Richard L. Park and Dr. Stanley Maron for their help and encouragement in preparing this enlarged revision ; and the Asiatic Society of Pakistan for undertaking its publication.

Dacca, 1959

M. A. Khan.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

Consonants

Arabic Persian			Arabic Persian		
<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Urdu-Persian</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Urdu-Persian</i>
ب	b	b	ص	ṣ	ṣ
پ	-	p	ض	ḍ	z ḍ
ت	t	t	ط	ṭ	ṭ
ث	-	t	ظ	ẓ	ẓ
ث	th	s	ع	‘	‘
ج	j	j	غ	gh	gh
چ	-	ch	ف	f	f
ح	h	h	ق	q	q
خ	kh	kh	ک	k	k
د	d	d	گ	-	g
ڈ	-	d	ل	l	l
ذ	dh	z	م	m	m
ر	r	r	ن	n	n
ڑ	-	r	ں	-	ṇ
ز	z	z	ہ	h	h
ژ	-	zh	و	w	w
س	s	s	ی	y	y
ش	sh	sh			

Vowels, Diphthongs, etc.

	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Urdu-Persian</i>
Short vowels	a, i, u	a, i, u
Long vowels	ā, ī, ū	ā, ī, ū, ē, o
آ (alif maqsurah)	ā	ā
Long vowels with tashdid	iya, uwa	iya, uwa
Diphthongs	aw, ay	aw, ay
ة, ت (tā marbutah)	ah	at
أ (hamzah)	a	a

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

E. I. Encyclopaedia of Islam. London, Luzac, 1st ed., 1913-1938.

Islamic culture—A journal published from Hyderabad-Deccan.

Islamic literature—A monthly journal published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

Islamic review—A monthly journal published from Woking, Surrey, England.

Muslim world or Moslem world—A quarterly journal published from the Hartford Seminary Foundation, Connecticut.

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PART I

.

CHAPTER 1

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL WORKS PROVIDING A BACKGROUND TO ISLAMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN FROM 1700 TO 1955 A. D.

A. Works and Articles on Bibliography and Chronology

1. AHMAD. M. G. Zubaid. Contribution of India to Arabic literature : from ancient times until the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Allahabad, Dikshit Press, 1946. 430 pp.
2. BUCKLAND, C. E. Dictionary of Indian biography. London, 1906. 494 pp. About distinguished European civil servants and native dignitaries of India.
3. COCKLE, Maurice J. D. A catalogue of books relating to the military history of India. Simla, Government Central Printing Office, 1901. 91 pp. Very helpful for the military history of the British period.
4. ETTINGHAUSEN, Richard, ed. A selected and annotated bibliography of books and periodicals in Western languages dealing with the Near and Middle East with special emphasis on medieval and modern times. Washington, D. C., Middle East Institute, 1st ed. 1952, 111 pp. 2nd ed. with supplement, 1954. 137 pp.
5. GHANI, A. R. Pakistan : a select bibliography. Lahore, 1951. 339 pp. Five special bibliographical works on different aspects and areas of West Pakistan are mentioned on p. iv.
6. HASAN, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar. Bibliography of Indo-Moslem history excluding provincial monarchies. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (Calcutta, Government of India Central Publication Branch), no 45, 1932. 42 pp.

7. LEWIN, Evans. Subject catalogue of the library of the Royal Empire Society, formerly Royal Colonial Institute; vol. 4 : Mediterranean colonies, India and the East. London, Royal Empire Society, 1937. pp. 112-491.
8. LYALL, Charles James. Hindostani literature. Encyclopaedia Britanica, vol. XI, 1953. pp. 571-77.
9. MANDELBAUM, David G. A guide to books on India. *American Political Science Review*, (Baltimore), vol. XLVI, no. 4, 1952. pp. 1154-66.
10. MANDELBAUM, David G. Materials for bibliography of the ethnology of India. University of California, 1949 (mimeographed). 220 pp. Interesting references to articles and works dealing with the folk life of East Bengal are on pp. 71-86 : "Ganges plain."
11. MORAES, George M. Bibliography of Indological studies (1943). Bombay Konkan Institute of Arts and Science. Bombay, Examiner Press, 1952. 254 pp.
12. NAWSHAHRAWĪ, Abū Yaḥyā Imām Khān. Tarājim-i-'ulamā-i-ḥadīth-i-hind. Delhi, 1356 A. H. (1937). A bio-bibliographical study of the Indian traditionists (*muhaddithun*), in Urdu.
13. POOLE, William Frederick *et al* ed. Index to periodical literature. Boston and New York, 1882-1906. See under "Mohammedanism" and "India".
14. SHARMA, Sri Ram. A Bibliography of Mughal India 1526-1707 A. D. Bombay, Karnatak Publishing House, n. d. 192 pp.
15. STOREY, C. A. Persian literature : a bio-bibliographical survey, 3 sections. London, Luzac, 1927-1929. See Section II, fascicule 3 : M. History of India, pp. 433-780.
16. TASSY, M. Garcin de. Histoire de la litterature Hindouie et Hindoustanie, 3 tomes, Paris, 2nd ed. 1870-71. A bio-bibliographical study. The full name of the author is Joseph Heliodore Sagesse Vartu Garcin de Tassy. In different bibliographical works he is mentioned as Tassy, de Tassy or Garcin de Tassy. He lived from 1794 to 1878.

17. WILSON, H. E., Co. Nineteenth century readers' guide to periodical literature. Minneapolis and New York, 1900-1955. See also 13.
18. WILSON, Patrick. *Books on South Asia newly added to the General Library*. (Berkeley, University of California, Institute of East Asiatic Studies, South Asia Studies), no. 1, Jan. 1955. A monthly list of books and periodicals on South Asia accessioned by the University Library.
19. ZWEMER, S. M. ed. Moslem world index volume, I-XXV. Connecticut, Hartford Seminary, Circa 1936. An index to the articles published in the *Moslem World* (at present *Muslim World*), from 1911 to 1935.

B. General Works

20. BLACKWOOD, William, and Sons. Dictionary of British Indian dates, being a compendium of all the dates essential to the study of the history of British rule in India. London, 1866. 177 pp.
21. BRADLEY-BIRT, F. B. The Romance of an Eastern capital. London, John Murray, 1906. 340 pp. A description of life in, and the history of, East Bengal.
22. DODWELL, H. E. ed. Cambridge history of the British Empire, vol. IV : British India 1497-1858. Cambridge, England, 1929. Published also as Cambridge history of India, vol. V : British India 1497-1858. Cambridge, 1929. There is a long bibliography and chronology, pp. 609-658.
23. DODWELL, H. E. ed. Cambridge history of India, Vol. VI ; The Indian Empire 1858-1918. Cambridge, England, 1932. There is a long bibliography and chronology, pp. 605-638.
24. MARTIN, R. Montgomery. The Indian empire, its history, topography, government, finances, commerce, and staple products ; with a full account of the Mutiny of the native troops ; and an exposition of the social and religious state of one hundred million

subjects of the Crown of England, 3 Vols. London, London Printing and Publishing Co., n. d. Vol. I : general history ; vol. II : Mutiny ; and Vol. III : illustration of the life and art of the people.

25. TABĀTABAI, Mīr Gholām-Ḥussein-Khān. Seir Mutaqherin; or view of modern times ; being a history of India from the year 1118 to the year 1194 of the Hedjrah, containing in general, the reigns of the seven last emperors of Hindostan, and in particular, an account of the English wars in Bengal ; with a circumstantial detail of the rise and fall of the families of Seradj-ed-Dowlah, and Shudjah-ed-Dowlah the last sovereigns of Bengal and Oud ; to which the author has added a critical examination of the English government and policy in those countries, as far down as the year 1783. Trans. by M. Raymond from Persian, 4 vols. Calcutta, 1902. The name of the author may be put more accurately as "Mir Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān. Tabātabai". Raymond puts the prefix as "Seid," *i. e.* "Sayyid", whereas Briggs puts it as "Mīr". The title of the work is "Siyar al-muta' akkhkhirīn". The translator M. Raymond was said to be a French Creole who had assumed the pseudonyms "Nota Manus" and "Hajee Mustapha"

The work covers from 1706 to 1783. The first volume was also published in a fairly good English translation as early as 1832 from London by John Briggs.

This is a monumental work and a good specimen of Muslim historiography.

C. Works dealing with the Later Mughal Period

26. AḤMAD Khān, Sir Sayyid. Āthār-us-Sanādīd. Delhi (?), Maṭba'-'i-Sayyid-ul-Akhhbār, 1847. Description of famous buildings, forts, mosques and temples, as also, of prominent personages of Delhi and its surroundings, written in Urdu. The work has

four chapters (*bab*) ; the chapters are independent of each other, and the pages are counted separately.

Ch. I : Description of buildings, outside of the city (Delhi), 238 pp.

Ch. II : Description of the buildings of *qil'ah-i-ma'allā* (Royal Palace), 44 pp.

Ch. III : Description of the town of *Shāh Jahān Ābād* (Delhi), 72 pp.

Ch. IV : Description of Delhi and its prominent personages, 246 pp.

This work was first published in 1846 and reprinted, perhaps with minor modification, in 1847. There is a third edition published by Muḥammad Raḥmat Allah Ra'ad from Cawnpore, in 1904, which, however, appears to be spurious and suffers from important omissions. The work was apparently translated into French in 1861 by M. Garcin de Tassy.

The 1847 edition is available at the University of California Library at Berkeley, and the 1904 edition is available at the Institute of Islamic Studies Library, McGill University, Montreal. This latter edition contains a few pages of preface in English describing the content of the work.

27. **AKBAR**, Muḥammad. The administration of justice by the Mughals. Lahore, Ashraf, 1948. VI+71 pp.

28. **AKḥTAR**, Qāzī Aḥmad Mian. Studies : Islamic and Oriental. Lahore, Ashraf, 1944. IX + 224 pp. Contains interesting chapters dealing with Mughal history and administration during and after the time of Awrangzib. See especially ch. VII, pp. 121-40 : "The tribulation of India," being an exposition of *Ashub-i-Hind*, a pamphlet describing the struggle of Awrangzib and his three brothers for the throne of Delhi. See also the important chapter on Mughal administration.

29. **AZIZ**, Abdul. Arms and jewellery of the Indian Mughul. Lahore, 1947. 149 pp.

30. **AZIZ**, Abdul. The imperial treasury of the Indian Mughul.

Lahore, 1942. 557 pp. From the time of the accession of Bābur to the throne of Delhi down to the invasion and plunder of Nādir Shāh in 1739.

31. AZIZ, Abdul. The maṣabdarī system and the Mughul army, Lahore, 1945. 235 pp. Maṣabdarī constituted the very heart of Mughal system of administration, which may be called "the Mughal feudal Military organization". This study is meant to stimulate further research on the subject. The subject can be best studied in comparison to the Turkish military feudal system, as both were apparently organized on similar lines.

The author is said to be in the process of producing a series of monographs on different aspects of Mughal Indian civilisation. See also 50 and 51.

32. BERNIER, Francois, Travels in the Mogul empire 1656-80. Archibald Constable, ed. Westminster, 1891. 478 pp. Revised and improved ed. This English edition is apparently a translation from the original French, *Voyages de Francois Bernier*, 2 tomes. 335+836 pp. Bernier is also said to be the author of *The History of the late revolution of the great Mogol*, which apparently describes the struggle between Dārā Shikoh and Aurangzib for capturing the throne of Delhi.
33. BHATTACHARYA, Sukumar. The East India Company and the economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740. London, Luzac, 1954. 240 pp.
34. DATTA, Kalikinkar. Studies in the history of Bengal Subah (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) 1740-1770, Vol. I : Social and Economic. Calcutta University Press, 1936. 528 pp. Bibliog. pp. 512-28.
35. FARUKI, Zahiruddin. Aurangzeb and his times. Bombay, 1935. 596 pp.
36. GHOURI, Iftikhar Ahmad. Ideological factor in the Mughal war of succession, 1657-58. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, part II, 1960, pp. 97-120.

37. GLADWIN, Francis. A narrative of the transactions in Bengal during the Soobadaries of Azeem-us-Shan, Jaffer Khan, Shuja Khan, Sirfaraz Khan, and Alyvirdy Khan (translated from original Persian). Calcutta, 1788.
- ✓ 38. GUPTA, HARI RAM. Studies in later Mughal history of the Punjab, 1707-1793. Lahore, 1944. 348 pp.
- ✓ 39. HASAN KHAN, Muhibbul. History Of Tipu Sultan. Calcutta, 1951. 434 pp.
40. HUNTER W. W. , ed. Rulers of India: Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan and the struggle with Musalman powers of the South (by Lewin B. Bowring). Oxford, Clarendon Press, n. d. , 227 pp.
- ✕ 41. IRVINE, William. Later Mughals, 2 vols. (J. N. Sarkar, ed.). Calcutta, 1921-1922. Vol. I : 1707-1720 ; Vol. II : 1719-1739.
42. KARIM, Dr. Abdul. Social History of the Muslims in Bengal down to A. D. 1538 (Ph. D. thesis) Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1959.
43. KEENE, H. G. Rulers of India : Madhava Rao Sindhia, otherwise called Madhoji. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1891. 203 pp.
44. KIRMANI, Meer Hussain Ali Khan. The history of Hyder Naik, otherwise styled Shams-ul Mulk, Ameer-ud-Dowla, Nawab Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur, Hyder Jung ; Nawab of the Karnatic Balaghaut, Trans. by Col. W. Miles. London, Oriental Translation Fund, 1842. 513 pp.
- ✓ 45. LANE-POOLE, Stanley. Rulers of India : Awrangzib. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1893. 206 pp.
- ✓ 46. LOCKHART, Laurence. Nadir Shah : a critical study based mainly upon contemporary sources. London, Luzac, 1938. 344 pp. See especially chapters XII-XV, pp. 123-62 : Nadir Shah's invasion of India.
47. MACKENZIE, Roderick. A sketch of the war with Tippoo Sultan, or a detail of military operations from the commencement of hostilities at the lines of Travancore in December 1789, until the peace concluded

before Seringapatam in February 1792, 2 Vols. Calcutta, 1799.

48. MICHAUD, J. (Francois) *Histoire des progress at de la chute de l'empire de Mysore, sous les regnes d'Hyder-Aly et Tippoo-Saib*, 2 Vols. Paris, 1801. Contains Napoleon's letter to Tipu and an account of French negotiations with him. Vol. 1, 596 pp. and vol. 11, 555 pp.
49. MOOR, Edward. *A narrative of the operations of Captain Little's detachment, and of the Mahratta army commanded by Purseram Bhow during the late confederacy in India against the Nawab Tippoo Sultan Bahadur*. London, 1794. 510 pp.
50. OATEN, Edward Farley. *European travels in India, during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ; the evidence afforded by them with respect to Indian social institutions, and the nature and influence of Indian Governments*. London, 1909. 271 pp.
51. OMRE, Robert. *Historical fragments of the Mogul empire, of the morattoes, and of the English concerns in Indostan ; from the year 1659 : Origin of the English establishment, and of the company's trade at Broach and Surat ; and a general idea of the Government and people of Indostan*. London, 1805. 476 pp. From 1659 to 1689. The work was first published in 1782 from London ; the 1805 ed. is more elaborate than the earlier one.
52. OWEN, Sidney J. *The fall of the Mughal empire*. London, 1912. XII+271 pp.
53. POLIER, Antoine Louis. *Shah Alam II, and his court : a narrative of the transactions at the court of Delhy from the year 1771 to the present time (1779)*. Gupta, Pratul ch, ed. Calcutta, 1947. 111 pp.
54. SARKAR, Jadu-Nath, ed. *History of Bengal, Vol. II Dacca University*, 1948.
55. SARKAR, Jadu-Nath. *India of Aurangzib (topography, statistics and roads), compared with the India of Akbar with extracts from the Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh*

- and the Chahar Gulistan (translated and annotated).
Calcutta, 1901. 192 pp.
56. SARKAR, Jadu-Nath. Mughal administration. Calcutta, 1924. 264 pp.
 57. SARKAR, Jadu-Nath. Nadir Shah in India. Patna, 1922. 69 pp.
 58. SARKAR, Jadu-Nath. History of Aurangzib (based on original sources). 4 Vols. London, 1920. Vol. I : Reign of Shah Jahan ; Vol. II : War of succession ; Vol. III : Northern India 1658-1681 ; Vol. IV : History of Aurangzib.
 59. SARKAR, Jadu-Nath. Studies in Aurangzib's reign. Calcutta, 1933. 302 pp.
 60. SARMA, Sri Ram. Mughal government and administration. Bombay, 1951. 290 pp. From A. D. 1526 to 1707.
 61. SINHA, N. A. Haidar Ali. Calcutta, 1st ed. 1941, 2nd ed. 1949. 299 pp.
 62. SPRENGEL, M. C. Hyder Aly and Tipoo Saheb. Weimar, 1801, 90 pp. in German.
 63. TIPU SULTAN, Fath Ali. Revolution de l'Inde pendant le dix-huitieme siecle ou mamoires de Typoo-Zaeb, Sultan du Maissour, cerits par lui-meme, et traduits de la langue indostani ; publies par Antione Fantin Desodoards, Citoyen Francais. 2 vols. Paris, 1796.
 64. TOUR, M. Maistre de la (General of ten thousand men in the army of the Mogol empire, and formerly commander-in-chief of the artillery of Hyder Ali, and of a body of European troops in the service of that Nabob). The history of Ayder (*Sic*) Ali Khan Nabob-Bahadur : or, New memoirs concerning the East Indies, with historical notes, 2 vols. London, 1784.
 65. WOOD, M. A review of the origin, progress, and result, of the late decisive war in Mysore, in a letter from an officer in India : with notes ; and an appendix, comprising the whole of the secret state papers found in the cabinet of Tippoo Sultan, at Seringa-patam ; taken from the originals : con-

taining his correspondence with the French, Zemaun Shab etc., from the year 1796, with a view to the overthrow of the British empire in India, the separate written opinions of his principal officers of state on that measure; and an autograph of the Sultan's handwriting in his last letter to the Governor-General. London, 1800. 276 pp.

D. Works dealing with the British Period

66. ALI, A. Yusuf. The making of India, a brief history of the different elements, geographical, ethnical material, moral and political, that went to the building up of the Indian people, with an account of the foundation, consolidation and progress of British rule in India. London, A. & C Black Ltd., 1925. 313 pp. From 2000 B. C. to 1925 A. D. Chronology of dates pp. 310-313.
67. ALI, Shahamat. The Sikh and Afghans, in connection with India and Persia, immediately before and after the death of Ranjit Singh; from the journal of an expedition to Kabul, through the Panjab and the Khaibar Pass. London, 1847. 550 pp. Deals with the early relations of the East India Company with the Panjab.
68. ANDERSON, G. and SUBEDAR, M. The development of an Indian policy 1818-1858. London, 1921. 179 pp. A fairly good review of the general policy of the East India Company government and the introduction of reforms in India.
69. ANDERSON, G. and SUBEDAR, M. The expansion of British India 1818-1858. London, 1918. 196 pp. The policy of annexation of the East India Company.
70. ARNOLD, Edwin. The Marquis of Dalhousie's administration of British India, vol. 1 : Acquisition and administration of the Panjab. London, 1862. 430 pp.
71. BOMBWALL, K. R. Indian politics and government since 1885 : a study of the nationalist movement and cons-

titutional development in India since 1885. Delhi, Atma Ram & Sons, 1951. 371 pp.

- ✓ 72. BOSE, BASANTA Kumar. Conquest of Bengal (by the East India Company). Calcutta, 1925. 93 pp. An interesting study of the relations between Nawab Siraj-ad-Dawlah and the East India Company in relation to the attitude of the general people of Bengal.
- * 73. BUCKLAND, C. E. Bengal under the lieutenant governors, being a narrative of the principal events and public measures during their periods of office ; from 1854 to 1898, 2 vols. Calcutta, S. K. Lahiri & Co., 1901.
- 74. BURTON, Sir William. India's northwest frontier. London, 1933. Deals with the frontier policy of the British India.
- ^ 75. CHIROL, Sir Valentine. India : a survey of historical forces (Modern world Series, vol. V). London, Ernest Bean Ltd., 1926. 352 pp.
76. CRAWFURD, John. Notes on the settlement or colonization of British subjects in India with appendix of proofs and illustration. London, 1833. 52 pp. An interesting tract dealing with economy, revenue and trade.
77. CROSS, Cecil Merne Putnam. The development of self-government in India 1858-1914. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1922. 246 pp. A fairly good study, with elaborate quotation from the original documents, covers down to the time of Morley-Minto reforms.
- ✓ 78. DASGUPTA, A. P. Studies in the history of the British India. Calcutta, Calcutta University Press, 1942. 160 pp. The work includes :
 - Ch. I : Select committee in Bengal and its conflict with the Council in 1770.
 - Ch. II : Nawab Nazimuddowla and the English.
 - Ch. III : A note on personal relations of Warren Hastings and Sir Thomas Rumbold.
 - Ch. IV : Macartney papers in the Historical Museum, Satara.

Ch. V : The treaty of Mangalore (with Tipu Sultan).

79. DIGBY, William. India for the Indians—and for England. London, 1885. 261 pp. The author says, "We became supreme in India more by good fortune and art, not to say artfulness, than by surpassing merit. Affairs generally, thanks to the break up of the Mogul power, were bad when we fought or intrigued our way to pre-eminence ; but it is a question whether they were one-half so bad as they are now." (pp. 18-19).
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CHAPTER II

SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH

Shāh Walī Allāh was born at Delhi in 1703. His other names are Qutub al-Dīn Aḥmad and 'Aẓīm al-Dīn. He is also known as Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī or Dihlavī.

His father 'Abd al-Raḥīm had a considerable reputation for piety, and had given up the family tradition of military occupation in favour of learning. In order to live in peace and religious devotion 'Abd al-Raḥīm had established a religious seminary at Delhi, and passed his life in teaching the students and enthusiasts who gathered at the seminary. He died in 1718, when Shāh Walī Allāh was about sixteen years old.

Shāh Walī Allāh was sent to his father's seminary at the age of five. At the age of fifteen, he completed his formal education. In the meantime, after the Shāh had obtained familiarity with the basic doctrines and tenets of Islamic mysticism, he was formally initiated into a Ṣūfī order by his father.

After the death of 'Abd al-Raḥīm, the responsibility of maintaining the seminary devolved on Shāh Walī Allāh. From 1718 to 1730, the Shāh taught different religious subjects at the seminary, and took special interest in *Hadith* studies. During this period, political events of an appalling nature in India, led him to think also about political and social matters.

After the death of Awrangzib widespread corruption had taken hold of the public administration and the *mansabdari* or feudal military system. Intellectual activities were largely absorbed in abstract discussion of a sophistic and legal nature. Sectarianism, especially the conflict between the *Shi'ah* and the *Sunnī* drove a wedge between the Indian Muslims. Shāh Walī Allāh's attention was attracted increasingly to this contemporary situation, and he began to search for ways to introduce reform in the administration and society, and to resolve differences among the Muslim sects.

In 1730 the Shāh went on a pilgrimage to Makkah and Madīnah. He passed about one year there in close association with famous teachers and learned '*ulama*' of the time. He studied *Hadith* literature with them, a factor which considerably altered the development of his thinking.

After his return from Makkah in 1732, he set himself with undivided attention to the task of working out a new interpretation of Islam, and to the introduction of social, political and religious reforms in Muslim society. He translated the Qur'ān into Persian against strong opposition from the '*ulama*'. Thus, he brought the Qur'ān for the first time within the reach of the Persian reading public.

He interpreted human nature in terms of his mystic experiences and found the ultimate meaning of the universe in its inherent "salutary purposiveness" or *maslahah*. He constructed a rational philosophical system according to which "salutary purposiveness" resides in every act of God and ought to be a motive in the conscious activities of man. Thus, he introduced rationalism into Indo-Pak Muslim thinking, which exerted great influence on the outlook of the later generations.

Shāh Walī Allāh condemned the usage of blind imitation or *taqlid* in matters of religion, and advocated the application of fresh opinion or *ijtihad* to religious matters. In order to emphasize the necessity for reopening the door of *ijtihad* which had been earlier declared closed by the fiat of the '*ulama*', he declared himself to be a *mujaddid* or a religious reformer. Also, he invited the administrators and politicians to introduce economic and political reform, and wrote letters to them with concrete suggestions for the improvement of the then existing feudal military system. Furthermore, he felt very strongly that the task of reformation was to be carried out through spreading education and enlightenment among the Muslims. He, therefore, concentrated his efforts on the improvement of the standard of education at the seminary, and served there as a teacher until his death in 1762.

Shāh Walī Allāh's ideas of reform were carried forward by his disciples and successors with great enthusiasm. They

organized themselves into a reform movement, and adopted teaching and preaching as the sole profession of their lives. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the movement, however, flared up into a *jihad* campaign against the Sikh, and to a limited extent against the East India Company Government, and was branded by its opponents as "Indian Wahhabism."

The seminary which was founded by 'Abd al-Raḥīm was called both as "Madrasah-i-Raḥīmiyah" and "Madrasah-i-Waliyullāhī." After the death of Shāh Walī Allāh, it thrived under the able management of his eldest son, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, as a great centre of Islamic learning.

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179. GILĀNĪ, Manāẓir Aḥsan. Tazkirah-i-Ḥaḍrat Shāh Walī Allāh. Hyderabad, Deccan, Nafis Accademy, 1st ed., 1948; Karachi and Lahore, Biṣāṭ-i-Adab, 2nd ed., 1952. 320 pp., in Urdu. This is about the teachings of Shāh Walī Allāh. The Plan of the work is very interesting and comprehensive (see pp. 5-12), though the actual work suffers from vagueness and obscurity.
180. HOSAIN, M. Hidayet. "Dehlawi, Shāh Walī Allāh". E. I. Vol. I, p. 971, with bibliog.

181. IDĀRAH-I-ṬULŪ'-I-ISLĀM. Shāh Walī Allāh awr Qur'ān wa Ḥadīth. *Tulu-i-Islam*, series no. 18. Delhi, Qarul Bagh (Qarawal?), Dec. 1941. This interesting pamphlet in Urdu offers an interpretation of Shāh Walī Allāh's attitude toward the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth which is obviously connected with Mawlānā 'Ubayd Allāh Sindhī's interpretation of Shāh Walī Allāh's philosophy.
182. IṢLĀḤĪ, Ṣadar al-Dīn. Ifādāt-i-Ḥadrat Shāh Waliyullāh Dihlawī : mā'khūz az Ḥujjat Allāh al-bālighah (Benefits of the teachings of Shāh Walī Allāh) Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1944. 144 pp. The work is on the teachings of Shāh Walī Allāh, and is a collection of four articles written in Urdu and published elsewhere in journals. The author shows an inclination to side with Mawlānā 'Ubayd Allāh Sindhī in his interpretation of Shāh Walī Allāh's philosophy. Yet, in the actual treatment of his subject he is presenting a conservative point of view, which is far less radical than the views held by Mawlānā Sindhī. This work is a selected and commentated translation of passages from 193.
183. MA'ṢŪMĪ, M. S. Ḥasan. An appreciation of Shāh Waliyullāh al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī. *Islamic Culture*, vol. 21, 1947. pp. 340-52. With bibliog. references.
184. NADAWĪ, Mas'ūd 'Ālam. Nazarat ijmalīyah fī tārikh al-da'wat al-islāmīyah fī'l-Hind wa'l-Bakistan. Rawalpindi and Lahore, circa 1950. p. 37 ff. This is an historical sketch of Islām in India and Pakistan, with a few pages about Shāh Walī Allāh, in Arabic.
185. NIẒĀMĪ, K. A. Shah Waliullah Dihlavi and Indian politics in the eighteenth century. *Islamic Culture*, vol. 25, 1951. pp. 133-45. An interesting interpretation of a number of Shāh Walī Allāh's letters addressed to different rulers and administrators. These letters have been collected and edited by NiẒāmī in 199.
186. NU'MĀNĪ, Muḥammad Manzūr, ed. Shāh Waliyullāh nombar al-Furqan vol. 7, nos. 9-12. (Bareilly), 1359 A. H.

408 pp. Contains 18 articles and 9 poems dealing with different aspects of Shāh Walī Allāh's life and work, in Urdu.

187. SA'IDI, 'Abd al-Muta'al. *al-Mujaddidun fī'l-Islām* : 100-1370 A. H. (700-1950) Cairo, 1st ed. circa 1959. pp. 442-44, in Arabic. This is the only known reference by an Arabian author to Shāh Walī Allāh.

- ✓ 188. SINDHĪ, Mawlānā 'Ubayd Allāh. Shāh Waliyullāh awr us ki siyāsī taḥrīk. Lahore, 1944. This small monograph correlates Shāh Walī Allāh with important political events in eighteenth century India, and was partly instrumental in arousing modern interest in him. Mawlānā Sindhī contends that Shāh Walī Allāh had regarded the *Sunnah* or *Hadith* as subordinate to the *Qur'ān*, even to the extent of considering the *Sunnah* as a compendium of history. The above monograph follows closely the same trend, and together with other writings of the Mawlānā may have exerted considerable influence on his contemporary Indian Muslim intellectuals like Sir Muhammad Iqbal. (See 904).

189. VALIUDDIN, Mir. Reconciliation between Ibn 'Arabī's *waḥdat-i-wujūd* and the Mujaddid's *waḥdat-i-shuhūd*. *Islamic Culture*, Jubilee no. Part I, 1951. pp. 43-50. In his assessment of Shāh Walī Allāh's mystic philosophy, Valiuddin attempts to go deeper than B. A. Fārūqī (See 178).

B. Bibliography of the works of Shah Wali Allah

Shāh Walī Allāh was a prolific writer. He is claimed to have been the author of over a hundred tracts, monographs and books. But no scientific study appears to have been undertaken by modern scholars either toward a systematic arrangement of his works or towards a comprehensive assessment of his philosophy. In fact, modern interest in Shāh Walī Allāh has been of very recent origin, dating back hardly farther than 1940. Yet in the face of rising interest in Shāh Walī Allāh among the Muslims of India and Pakistan at the present time,

it may be presumed that such studies are being contemplated. The recent work of 'Abd al-Raḥīm, an Urdu translation of Shāh Walī Allāh's *Hujjat Allah Al-baligah* with an elaborate introduction, has proved quite up to the mark; and the collection and edition of Shāh Walī Allāh's letters by K. A. Nizami has definitely added to our knowledge of Shāh Walī Allāh's political activities.

Shāh Walī Allāh's works have been listed on the following pages in accordance with the order of their importance, as mentioned below :

- Autobiographical works
- Philosophical works
- Quranic studies
- Studies in *Hadith* literature
- Studies in jurisprudence (*fiqh*)
- Studies in the creed of Islam
- Studies in sufism (Islamic mysticism)
- Political letters
- Biographical and historical works
- Other writings

Autobiographical Works

190. (a) Fayṣal al-ḥaramayn (in Arabic with Urdu translation in parallel columns). Delhi, Maṭba'-'i-Aḥmadī, n. d. 104 pp.
 - (b) Mushāhidāt wa ma'ārif. Lahore, Sindh Sagar Academy, 1947. 344 pp. An Urdu translation of Fayṣal al-ḥaramayn by Muḥammad Sarwar. The translation is good and eloquent.
- This work records the experiences of Shāh Walī Allāh at Makkah and Madīnah.
191. Al-Juz' al-laṭīf fī tarjamat al-'abd al-ḍa'īf (in Arabic). A concise autobiographical sketch composed by the Shāh. Two editions exist :
 - (a) Fuḡiyyānī, Abū Ṭayyib 'Aṭā Allāh ibn Ḥusayn al-Salafī. (Printed at the end of) al-Fawz al-kabīr. 6 pp.

(Pages are counted separately). On pp. 6-8 there is additional information by the editor including the date of Shāh Walī Allāh's death.

- (b) Hosain, Hidāyet. Autobiography of Shāh Walī Allāh. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta), N. S. 8. 1912. pp. 161-75. Arabic text, pp. 161-69 ; English translation, pp. 170-75.

Both editions are good and substantially the same.

Philosophical Works

192. Al-Budūr al-bāzighah (in Arabic). Bajnur, U. P., al-majlis al-‘Ilmī Publication, series 17, 1354 A. H. (1935). This is a general work, Part I, dealing with the philosophy of religion with special reference to Islam. This work and 193 are complementary to each other in the sense that certain topics which are found briefly and vaguely treated in 193, such as “*Irtifāqāt al-arba’*” or the four gradations of society, are greatly elaborated in this work. The contents are shown in the following table :

<i>Topics</i>	<i>Pages</i>
Metaphysics	9-27
Philosophy of humanity	27-48
Philosophy of Society (<i>Irtifaqat</i> al-arba’).	49-94
Theology	95-110
A study of religious experience.	111-167
On prophecy	167-177
The reality of angels and Satan.	178-179
On law and society	180-185
History of the evolution of religion	185-189
The reality of the “ <i>Millat</i> <i>al-hanīfiyah</i> ” (i. e., Islam), its principles and fundamental institutions	190-223

193. (a) *Ḥujjat Allāh al-bālighah*, (in Arabic), 2 parts. Cairo. *Idārah al-tibā'ah al-Muniriyyah*, 1352 A. H. (1933). 198+215 pp. For a critical remark see 1, pp. 49-50 and 102-07.
- (b) *Ḥujjat Allāh al-bālighah*, 2 vols. Lahore, Qawmī Kutub Khānah, 1953. 718+842 pp. An Urdu translation by 'Abd al-Raḥīm with an introduction of 122 pp., including a biographical sketch of Shāh Walī Allāh, pp. 53-122. The translation is fairly good and eloquent.

This work has been written on the model of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, and is Shāh Walī Allāh's masterpiece. It takes a view of the whole of religion, and may be classified as "sociology of religion." The second part of the work deals with the institutional and ceremonial aspects of Islam, and the first part is an introduction providing a systematic and coherent philosophical basis for religion in general, and for the subjects dealt with in the second part in particular. The intellectual standpoint of the author is reflected adequately in this work.

194. *Tafhīmāt al-ilāhiyyah* (in Arabic and Persian mixed), 2 vols. This work is on theology.

- (a) Vol. I, U. P., India, Madīnah Barqī Press, 1936. 264 pp. This consists of short discourses on different topics. It discusses *inter alia* three important problems :
- (i) The processes of creation, p. 55 ff.
 - (ii) Miracles, pp. 95-100.
 - (iii) Blind imitation in religious matters, or *taqlid*, p. 209 ff.

Furthermore, the problem of the renewal and reformation of religion from time to time is elaborately discussed with implicit claims that the author himself was a reformer, or Mujaddid (cf. pp. 102-04). On pp. 157-208, the philosophical system of the author is put forward in concise form.

- (b) Vol. II, Surat, India, 1936. 259 pp. This volume may

be regarded as the author's philosophy concerning the reformation of religion and society. He explicitly claims to be a reformer, or *Mujaddid* (see p. 133).

In these two volumes important autobiographical data are available which deal with the author's religious experience.

Quranic Studies

195. (a) al-Fawz al-kabīr fī usūl al-tafsīr (in Persian). See 15, Section I, *Quranic literature* , p. 22. This is apparently the original work.
- (b) Fawz al-kabīr fī usūl al-tafsīr. Lahore, al-Maktabah al-salafiyyah, 1951. 52 pp. A translation from Persian into Arabic by Muḥammad I'zāz 'Alī al-Salafī al-Deobandī. This work is on the science of exegetic studies of the Qur'ān, and in spite of its brevity has exerted tremendous influence on Indo-Pakistani students and commentators of the Qur'ān of successive generations.

A precise statement of the author's philosophy with regard to the nature of man and his ideals, the purpose of the prophetic revelation, and related topics has been made in the opening chapter of the work. "... ... the purpose of the revelation of the Qur'ān," says Shāh Walī Allāh, "is to civilize all sections of mankind, Arabs and non-Arabs, urban and rural." (p. 13, line 1)

In the second chapter the problem of abrogation of some verses by others in the Qur'ān is dealt with concisely. He concludes that there were not more than five verses in the Qur'ān which might be regarded as abrogated. The work, on the whole, is a good specimen of the scholarship and rationalism of Shāh Walī Allāh.

Studies in Hadith Literature

See supplement :

Studies in Law and Jurisprudence (Fiqh).

196. (a) 'Iqd al-Jīd fī bayān aḥkām al-ijtihād wa'l-taqlīd (in Arabic). (Published with an Urdu translation in parallel columns), Delhi, Mujtabā'ī Press, 1344 A.H. (1935). 93 pp.

This is an excellent monograph on the problems of *ijtihād* (i. e., application of fresh opinion and interpretation to religious matters), and *taqlīd* (i. e., imitation in matters of religion).

- (b) Rahbar, Muḥammad Da'ūd. *Shāh Walī Ullāh and ijtiḥād* : a translation of selected passages from his 'Iqd al-jīd fī bayān aḥkām al-ijtihād wa'l-taqlīd. *Muslim World* (Hartford Seminary, Connecticut, vol. XLV, no. 4, Oct. 1955. pp. 346-58. This is a partial translation of the work.

Studies in the Creed of Islam

See supplement.

Studies in Sufism (Islamic mysticism)

197. (a) *Ham'at* (in Persian). *Ham'at* mean drops implying "a few drops of wisdom." Apparently this work was originally written in Persian.
- (b) *Taṣawwuf kī ḥaqīqat awr us kā falsafah-i-tārīkh* (mysticism and its philosophy of history). A translation of *Ham'at* from Persian into Urdu by Muḥammad Sarwar. Lahore, Sindh Sagar Academy, 1946. 267 pp.

In this work *Shāh Walī Allāh* seeks to provide a philosophical background and an experiential foundation for sufism. The portion of the work dealing with human nature (b, pp. 182-229), shows a great similarity to William James's treatment of the subject in *Varieties of religious experience*. (New York, circa. 1902), "Lectures IV-VIII." Both these two thinkers put greater emphasis on the importance of the "sick soul" or "the mind in conflict."

198. *Sat'at* (in Persian). Karachi, Hindi Year 939. 37 pp. This tract is on mysticism.

Political Letters

199. Shāh Waliyullāh Dihlawī kī Siyāsī maktūbāt (Persian). Khaliq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, ed. and trans. into Urdu. Aligarh, Muslim University, *circa.* 1950. 212 pp. This is a collection of political letters written by Shāh Walī Allāh to different kings and administrators of India and Persia, urging on them to introduce social and administrative reforms with concrete suggestions. See 185.

See also 194, where quite a few letters of the same nature are available.

Biographical and Historical works

200. Qurrat al-ʿaynayn fī tafḍīl al-Shaykhayn (in Arabic and Persian mixed). Delhi, Maṭbah-i-Mujtabāʾi, 1310 A. H., 331 pp.

This work has been written in justification of the superiority of the first two Khalīfah (Caliphs), Abū Bakr and ʿUmar over other ordinary Muslims. In proof of his standpoint, Shāh Walī Allāh draws copiously such biographical data of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as were available in the Qurʾān, the *Sunnah* and in different historical and biographical works. The author contends that

- (i) Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were genuinely elected to the office of Khilāfat ;
- (ii) the relative superiority of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar over one another could not be considered in any absolute sense. In certain respects each one of them was superior to the other ;
- (iii) the instrumentality of *ijmaʿ* (consensus of opinion of the Muslim community), through which they were elected, was sound as one of the four fundamental principles of the legal procedure prescribed by Islam.

Other Writings

See supplement.

C. Supplement to the Bibliography of Shah Wali Allah

The following books and articles have not been examined individually, but are known to exist through other references made to them.

Books and Articles dealing with the Life and Teachings of Shah Wali Allah

201. AHMAD, Mukhtār. *Ḥālāt-i-Khāndān-i-‘Azīzī* (History of the Family of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz). ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was the eldest son of Shāh Walī Allāh. This work apparently gives valuable information about Shāh Walī Allāh.
202. ‘AZĪZ, Shāh ‘Abd al-Malfuzāt (Sayings of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz). This work apparently relates experiences of Shāh Walī Allāh at Makkah and Madīnah and gives valuable information about the religious seminary maintained by him at Delhi.
203. BASHĪR al-DĪN, Mawlawī. *Dār Al-ḥakūmat* (the centre of government, *i. e.* Delhi). Delhi, n. d. Vol. II, apparently gives information about the religious seminary of Shāh Walī Allāh.
204. GUDĀRAWĪ, Mawlānā Ismā‘īl. *Walīyullāh*. A biography of Shāh Walī Allāh.
205. ḤASAN KHĀN, Nawāb Ṣiddīq. *Ithaf al-nubalā al-muttaqīn bi-iḥyā māthir al-fuqahā’ al-muḥaddithīn*. Kanpur, 1288 A. H. (1871 A. D.). (Cited in 194) This is apparently a historical work about the prominent Muslim jurists and traditionists (*muḥaddithin*) of India, in Arabic.
206. JAWNPŪRĪ, ‘Abd al-Awwal. *Mufīd al-muftī*.
207. LAHORI, Faqīr Muḥammad. *Ḥadā’iq al-Ḥanafiyah*.
- ✓ 208. SINDHĪ, Mawlānā ‘Ubayd Allāh. *Shāh Walīyullāh awr un kā falsafah* (Shāh Walī Allāh and his philosophy).

209. **TIRHŪTĪ**, Muḥsin al-Taymī al-. al-Yani al-jani. Bareilly, 1287 A. H. (1870 A. D.) This work appears to be laden with valuable information about Shāh Walī Allāh.

Works of Shah Wali Allah

Philosophical Works

210. **Al-Qit'ah 'alā al-nafs bi-jawāb Abū 'Alī Sīnā**. This work appears to be a criticism of Ibn Sina's doctrine of the soul. For particulars about the manuscripts see I, p. 427.
211. **Tāwīl al-aḥādīth** (Interpretation of events). "It was written in Arabic and has been published with an Urdu translation which is no better than no translation" remarks 'Abd al-Raḥīm, the translator of *Hujjat Allah al-balighah*. This work whose main theme is the nature of the miracles of the prophets, seems to have taken into account the highly controversial problem of causal order in the sequence of events. An elaborate comment made by 'Abd al-Raḥīm suggests that Shāh Walī Allāh was trying to re-establish the necessary bond among the sequence of events as against the view held by al-Ghazālī in his *Tahafat al-falasafah*. According to Shāh Walī Allāh, the miracles of the prophets were only natural events, the manifestation of which was bound up with material causes. We call the miracles "Khāriq 'ādat" (i. e., not conforming to the customary way), on the basis of our short-sightedness. But in reality they do not happen as "Khāriq 'ādat" or against the Law of nature. The system of causes and effects, established by God in His wisdom, is necessarily incapable of alteration.

Quranic Studies

212. **Fatḥ al-Khabīr bi-mā lā budda min ḥifẓihī fī 'ilm al-tafsīr** (Some indispensable matters concerning the exegetic studies of the Qur'ān). This small tract, written in

Arabic, appears to have formed the fifth and last chapter of *al-Fawz al-kabir*.

It is an advice to the students of Quranic exegesis (cited in I, pp. 19-20). It "contains explanations of Quranic words and phrases in the order in which they occur".

213. *Fath al-Rahmān bi-tarjamat al-Qur'ān* (in Persian). This is a literal Persian translation of the *Qur'ān* which has been claimed to be the first translation of the *Qur'ān* into Persian. The work was completed in 1151 A. H. (1738 A. D.) (See Wladimir Ivanow, ed. *Concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts* (Curzon collection). Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1926, p. 243, no. 331). For particulars about different editions and publications see 15, section 1, Quranic literature, pp. 20-22.
214. *Arba'ūn* (Forty). A collection of forty traditions of the Prophet with chain of narrators, in Arabic. *Ms.* Rampur Library 66.
215. *Durr al-thamīn fī mubashsharāt al-Nabī al-Amīn* (Precious gems from the good tidings of the Prophet). A collection of forty traditions of the Prophet, the correctness of which was said to have been confirmed by the Prophet in a dream. This work is in Arabic (cited in I, pp. 45 and 259).
216. *al-Faḍl al-mubīn fī 'I-musalsal min ḥadīth al-Nabī al-Amīn* (in Arabic). This is a collection of traditions of the Prophet which have some outstanding peculiarities. (Cited in I, p. 259).
217. *Irshād ila muhimmāt 'ilm al-asnād* (Discourse on the science of sifting Prophetic tradition). This work is in Arabic (see I p. 259). It was published from Delhi in 1307 A. H. (1889 A. D.).
218. *al-Muṣaffa fī Sharḥ al-Muwatta* (in Persian). This work is a commentary of the *Mawatta* of Imām Mālik.
219. *al-Musawwa fī aḥādīth al-Muwatta* (in Arabic). This work is also a commentary of the *Muwatta* of Imām

Malik and was apparently published from Makkah in 1351 A. H. (1952), and 218 was published in the margin of this work (cited in 12., p. 42, nos. 4 and 5).

220. **al-Nawādir min al-ḥadīth** (Some prophetic tradition of rare peculiarities). This is "a collection of Ḥadīth with some outstanding peculiarities" (cited in 1, pp. 45-47 and 259).
221. **Sharḥ tarājim al-abwāb al-Bukhārī** (Commentary on the arrangement of chapters in *Sahih al-Bukhari*). This work is an introduction to *Sahih al-Bukhari*, the most famous collection of the traditions of the Prophet by 'Abd Allāh al-Bukhārī. This work has been apparently regarded as a great contribution to the study of *Hadith* literature. It is in Arabic (cited in 1, pp. 38-40 and 259).

Studies in Law and Jurisprudence (fiqh)

222. **Inṣāf fī bayān sabab al-ikhtilāf** (An account concerning the causes of differences of opinion among Muslims). This work is apparently a comprehensive study concerning the differences of opinion among the four orthodox schools of law in Islam with a view to reconciling their views in order to reduce differences among their followers. It is in Arabic.
223. **Izālat al-Khifā 'an khilāfat al-khulafā'** (Unveiling the screen of obscurity from the *khilafah* (office of Caliph) of the Caliphs. The main topic of this work is apparently the justification of the *khilafah* of 'Abū Bakr and 'Umar 1, aimed at reducing disagreement between the *Shi'ah* and the *Sunni* sects.

It apparently discusses elaborately the true nature of *khilafah*, the sound principles of social organisation and related matters, from a point of view which may be regarded as sociological.

Studies in the Creed of Islam

224. **Al-Balāgh al-mubīn fī ittibā'-i-khātīm al-nabiyīn** (in Persian).

This is said to be an exposition of Ibn Taymiyah's work *al-Qa'idat al-jalīliyah* (cited in 12, p. 45).

225. *Fath al-Wadūd ma'ma'rifat al-junūd* (in Arabic). (cited in 12, p. 45).
226. *Hasan al-'aqidah* (Good faith). This work appears to be the same as *al-'Aqidat al-sahih*, which is also known as *Hasan al-'aqidah ma' al-ta'liqat* (printed at the back of al-Tahawi's *Bayan al-'aqidat al-hasanah*, Agra, 1304 A. H. (1886 A. D.) See C. Brockelmann. *Geschichte der Ababischen Literature*, suppl. II, 1938, p. 614.
227. *Makātib* (Writings). This is said to be a work on the creed (cited in 12, p. 45).
228. *Tuhfat al-Muwahhīdīn* (Gifts of Monotheists). This work is in Persian, and appears to be an Indian counterpart of Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's *kitāb al-tawhid*. It seeks to establish pure monotheism (*tawhid*) and to eliminate all polytheistic accretion from Muslim society. It is said to have formed the basis of "tarīqah-i-Muḥammadiyah movement" or the so-called Indian Wahhabism. The *Taqwiyat al-iman* of Shāh Ismā'īl Shāhīd is said to be an exposition and development of this work (cited in 1, p. 258 ; and 207b, p. 81).

Studies in sufism (Islamic mysticism)

229. *Alṭāf al-quḍs* (Divine gifts). This work is a guide to the attainment of the goal of sufism, written in Persian.
230. *Faysalat al-wahdat al-wajūd wa'l-shuhūd* (Arbitration between the doctrines of *wahdat al-wajud* or unityism, a type of creationism, and *wahdat al-shuhud* or *apparentism*, a type of panentheism). See 178.
231. *Al-Intibah fī salāsīl awliyā' Allāh*. (Discussion about the spiritual chain of *sufis*). This work is in Arabic. (cited in 1, p. 314).
232. *Al-khayr al-kathīr* (The good in abundance). This work is apparently on the deeper mysteries of sufism, written in Arabic (See 1, index).

233. *Maktūb-i-Walī Allāh Dihlawī* (letter of Walī Allāh Dihlawī). *Majmu'a dar tasawwuf* (Curzon collection). This letter was written to Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Rumī al-Madanī (see Wladimir Ivanow, ed. *Concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts* (Curzon collection). Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1926. No. 469). The letter apparently dwells on sufism.
234. *Muqaddimāt al-sinīyah fī intishār al-firqat al-sunniyah* (in Arabic). This is apparently an Arabic translation with occasional annotation and commentary of an originally persian work by *Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindī* on Sufism. *Shāh Walī Allāh* has also added an introduction to the original work (cited in 1, pp. 98-99 and 333).
235. *Qawl al-jamīl fī bayān sawā' al-sabīl* (in Arabic). This is apparently an important work on the four well-known schools of sufism, i. e., Qādiriyah, Chishtiyah, Suhrawardiyah, and Naqshbandiyah or Mujaddidiyah. See 1, pp. 71-73 and 314.
236. *Risālat fī mas'alat waḥdat al-wujūd* (An epistle on the doctrine of unityism, a type of panentheism or *wahdat al-wujud*). This is apparently an exposition of Ibn 'Arabī's mystic philosophy, written in Arabic (cited in 1, p. 314).

Biographical Studies

237. *Anfas al-ʿarīfīn* (in persian). This work apparently is an account of *Shāh Walī Allāh's* ancestors (cited in 12, pp. 45-48).
238. *al-Ḥabīb al-mun'im fī madḥ sayyid al-ʿArab wa'l-ʿajam* (Ode in praise of the Prophet). This is a long poem, written in Arabic. It appears to be the same as *Atyab al-nagham fī madḥ sayyid al-ʿArab wa'l-ʿajam*. See 12, p. 45, no. 36 ; and Brockelmann (listed in 226) suppl. II, p. 615.
239. *al-Imdād fī ma'aṭhir al-ajdād* (An account of the forefathers).

This work is apparently about the ancestors of Shāh Walī Allāh (cited in 12, p. 45, no. 41).

240. Insān al-‘ayn fī mashā’iḥ al-ḥaramayn (An account of the teachers of Makkah and Madinah). This work is apparently on the teachers of Shāh Walī Allāh.
241. Maktubāt ma’ faḍā’il Abu ‘Abd Allāh al-Bukhārī wa faḍā’il Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyah (Letters together with writings) about the excellence of Abu ‘Abd Allāh al-Bukhārī and Ibn Taymiyah). In this work Shāh Walī Allāh apparently expressed his views about Imām Buḥārī and Ibn Taymiyah, written in Persian (cited in 12, p. 45, no. 37).
242. Nabadhat al-abriziyah fī ṭabqat al-‘azīziyah (Glimpses on the annals of dear ones). This work appears to be an account of Shāh Walī Allāh’s ancestors (cited in 12, p. 45, No. 39).
243. Surūr al-mahzūn (in Persian). This is apparently a translation of Ibn Sayyid al-Nās’s *Risalat nur al-ayn* from Arabic.

Other Works

244. Khuṭbāt al-jum‘ah (Friday sermons). This is a collection of Friday sermons apparently delivered by Shāh Walī Allāh, in Arabic (cited in 1, p. 186 and 419).
245. al-Maqālat al-waḍīyah fī’l-waṣīyat wa’ l-naṣīḥah (Advice and testament). This is apparently the testament of Shāh Walī Allāh, a book of advice and admonition, written in Persian. It is said to be “an ocean shrunk into a jar”.
246. Tanwir al-‘aynayn fī raf‘al-yadayn. This work apparently deals with the important problem of “raf‘ yadayn.” See Brockelmann, listed in 226, suppl. II, p. 614, no. 9.

CHAPTER III

SUCCESSORS OF Shāh Walī Allāh

Among the successors of Shāh Walī Allāh his four sons are most noted. They devoted themselves to fostering education and learning among the Muslims. They maintained the high standard of the seminary, which was left to them as a legacy, and they presented the Qur'ān to the public for the first time in plain Urdu language.

Like their father they rejected *taqlid*. This meant in itself a bold revolt against the then prevalent legalistic traditionalism.

When the situation impelled them, they took steps toward encouraging *Jihad* or holy war against all enemies of Islam,

The name of the four sons of Shāh Walī Allāh are as follows:

Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz (1159-1239/1746-1823).

Shāh Rafī 'al-Dīn (d. 1249/1833).

Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir (1167-1243/1753-1827).

Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī (1170-1227/1756-1812).

There is also mention of a fifth son of Shāh Walī Allāh, namely Shaykh Muḥammad, who died in early age, and about whose activities we know practically nothing (see 151, p. 389 footnote 1).

A. Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz

Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, the eldest son of Shāh Walī Allāh, was a theologian of great eminence. He played the central role among the successors of Shāh Walī Allāh. Moreover, he was instrumental in transmitting the ideas of social and religious reforms to the next generation through his students and disciples like Shāh Ismā'īl Shahīd, Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ḥayy and Sayyid Aḥmad of Ray-Barfī.

Works of Shah 'Abd al-Aziz

A concise critical account of the life and works of Shāh

‘Abd al-‘Azīz is found in 12, pp. 49-63. For a good bibliographical account of his works, see 1, index, For his works in Quranic studies, see 15, Section 1, *Quranic Literature*, pp. 21 and 24; and section II, p. 223. See also 149 (Calcutta, 1945), pp. 4 and 134-35.

See also supplement.

B. Shah Rafi al-Din

The best known work of Shāh Rafī‘ al-Dīn is his translation of the Qur’ān into Urdu, which is said to be a word by word literal translation (see 12, pp. 65-66). Besides, he is said to have written about twenty books on different subjects (*ibid*). For an appreciation of his translation of the Qur’ān see 16, tome II, pp. 518-19. For its different editions and publications, see 15, Section 1. *Quranic Literature*, pp. 21 and 24-25. See also 1, index. An elaborate bibliography about Shāh Rafī‘ al-Dīn is available in the following :

247. Shafī‘, Muḥammad, “Rafī‘ al-Dīn,” E. I., Vol. III, p. 1097.

C. Shah ‘Abd al-Qadir

Shāh ‘Abd al-Qādir is credited with the first translation and commentary of the Qur’ān into idiomatic Urdu language. The work is known as *Mudih-i-Qur’an*, completed in 1205/1790-91. A good discussion about the work is available in 26, tome I, pp. 76-79. For its different editions and publications, see 15, Section 1, *Quranic literature*, pp. 21 and 24-25. Besides, an article in the *E. I.* Vol. 1, p. 41 : “Abd al-Kadir” may be mentioned, which is, however, too brief to be helpful.

D. Shah ‘Abd al-Ghani

Shāh ‘Abd al-Ghanī was a life long devotee to the study of *Hadith* literature. He kept himself so busy in teaching the students who gathered around him that he had little time for writing. Muḥammad Qāsim Nānūṭawī, who played a leading

role in Deoband movement, was one of his students. Shāh Ismā'īl Shāhīd, one of the founders of the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* movement, was his son.

E. Supplement to the Bibliography of Successors of Shah Wali Allah

The following books and articles have not been examined personally, but are known to exist through other references made to them.

Works dealing with the Life Shah 'Abd al-Aziz

248. 'Alī Khān, Nawab Mubārak. *Kamālāt-i-'Azīzī* (Successes of 'Abd al-'Azīz). Mirut, 1873. This is a biography of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, in Urdu (cited in 26, Section I, *Quranic literature*, p. 24).

Works of Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz

The authorship of over twenty works have been ascribed to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. These works are apparently extant.

Quranic Studies

249. *Tafsir-i-Fatḥu'l-'Azīz*, also known as *Tafsīr-i-'Azīzī*. This work is a commentary on the Qur'ān in Persian. It does not, however, cover the whole of the Qur'ān, although it consists of more than one volume. An Urdu translation of this work is said to have been published (see 15, Section I, *Quranic Literature*, p. 24). The author wrote an introduction to this work at a later date, in Arabic, namely *muqaddimat tafsir-i-fathu'l-'Aziz*. This introduction is counted separately and the *Ms.* has been preserved in the Rampur Library (cited in I, p. 249).

In this work, the author insists on strict monotheism and on rendering obedience to God

alone. "Therefore, to worship other than God is an outright polytheism and infidelity; and obedience to any other than God is an act (belonging to the category) of infidelity" (*Tafstr-i-fathu'l-'Aziz*, vol. I, p. 159; cited in 12, p. 53). That is to say, to worship other than God is infidelity. But to obey other than God is, though not infidelity, yet an act which belongs to the same category. He also classifies *taqlid* (i. e., blind imitation in matters of religion), in the latter category (*ibid*).

Studies in Hadith Literature

250. al-Aḥādīth al-mawḍū'ah (spurious traditions) This is on the spurious traditions which have been ascribed to the prophet, written in Arabic (cited in I, index).
251. Bustānu'l-muḥaddithīn (Flower garden of the traditionists). This work is apparently on the lives of the traditionists or *muḥaddithīn*, written in Persian (cited in 25, Section I, *Quranic literature*, p. 24; and 12, p. 60).
252. Ujālā-i-naḥī'ah (in Persian). This work is apparently on the principles of Ḥadīth collection (cited in 15, Section I, *Quranic literature*, p. 24).

Studies in Law and Jurisprudence (Fiqh)

253. Fatāwā-i-'Azīzī. This work is in Persian. It is a collection of legal opinions of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, which played a very important role among Muslims of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent during the nineteenth century. It is said to be edited by Mirza Karim Baig (see 12, p. 56 footnote 1).

Studies in the Creed of Islam

254. Hidāyatu'l-mu'minīn (Guidance for the believers). This work is apparently an attempt to remove super-

stitious customs and usages from the society, written in Urdu (cited in 12, p. 60).

255. *Mīzān al-'aqa'id* (Balance of faith). This work is a concise exposition of the creed of Islam, written in Arabic. The discussion of the problems of free will and predestination seems to be interesting (see 1, pp. 94-95). The author wrote a commentary on this work later on, called *Sharh mizan al-'aqa'id* (cited in 1, p. 339).
256. *Nizām al-'aqa'id* (Arrangement of the articles of faith. Written in Arabic (cited in 1, p. 339).
257. *Sirr al-Shahadatayn* (Secrets of the two witnessing formula of faith). This work apparently displays conciliatory attitude to the *Shiah* sect, and as a consequence the *Sunni* circle has doubted its authenticity. In Arabic (cited in 1, p. 397).
258. *Taqrīr-i-dilpazīr* (Lecture). This is apparently advice and admonition with regard to the five pillars of Islam, namely (i) belief in God and the Prophet, (ii) ritual prayer, (iii) fasting, (iv) poor-rate or *Zakah*, and (v) pilgrimage to Makkah or *Hajj*. It is in Persian. An Urdu translation of this work, called *Mazmun-i-arkan-i-khamsah*, was seen by Nawshahrawī (see 12, p. 60).

Studies in Sufism (Islamic mysticism)

259. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-muqaddimat al-saniyah fī intiṣār al-firqat al-sunniyah* (in Arabic). This is a super-commentary on 234. The work is on sufism. According to Zubaid Ahmad, *Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz* differs at places (e. g., in the matter of *Wahdat al-wujud*, or unityism, a type of panentheism), from his father, the author of the *Intoduction* or *Muqaddimah*, and agrees with *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī* (e. g., his doctrine of *Wahdat al-shuhud*, or *apparentism*, a type of *creationism*; (see 178, pp. 77 and 99), the author of the original work (cited in 1, p. 389).

260. Ḥaṣhiyah 'alā al-qawl al-jamīl (in Arabic). This is a super-commentary on 235 (cited in 1, p. 339).
261. Taqrīr (Lecture). This is a lecture of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz on sufism, apparently collected in *Majmu'ah dar tasawwuf* (listed in 233, no. 469.)

Other Works

262. 'Azīz al-iqtibās fī faḍā'il akhyār al-nās (On the excellence of the best of the people). This work is on the virtues of the first four Caliphs, written in Arabic (cited in 12, p. 60).
263. Al-Ḥaṣhiyah 'alā al-Ṣadrā (Super-commentary on al-Ṣadrā). This is a super-commentary on a philosophical work of Mullā Ṣadr al-Dīn of Persia popularly known as Mullā Ṣadrā (cited in 1, p. 366).
264. I'jāz al-balāghat (Nicety of rhetoric). This work is on rhetoric, written in Arabic (cited in 1, p. 414).
265. Al-Makātib (Letters). (cited in 1, p. 421).
266. Risālat fī-mā yajib ḥifẓih (An epistle concerning what ought to be memorized by students). (Cited in 1, pp. 263 and 339).
267. Tuhfat-i-Isnā-'ashariyah (A gift to the Twelvers). This is apparently a refutation of some shī'ah doctrines, written in Persian. cited in 12, p. 60.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENT

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the ideas of social and religious reforms took a definite and practical shape among the Indian Muslims. The efforts of the successors of Shāh Walī Allāh to spread education and enlightenment were beginning to stir their spirit. The early years of the nineteenth century were marked by a vigorous revival of this reformist trend, chiefly through the preachings of Shāh Ismā'īl Shahīd and Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd of Ray-Bareilly.

Shāh Ismā'īl was born at Delhi about A D 1781. He was the only son of Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī and the grandson of Shāh Walī Allāh. As a student he was very fond of studying history, geography and mathematics; he also took a great interest in physical culture, including long distance swimming in the river Jamuna, riding, and swordmanship.

After completing his formal education at the seminary of Shāh Walī Allāh at about the age of sixteen, he became a teacher at the above seminary, and devoted his leisure time to preaching. He was a great enthusiast for reform and a good orator.

About the year 1810 he launched a reform campaign and preached against popular superstitions, polytheistic innovations and against the uncompromising dogmatism of the orthodox 'ulamā'. He opposed Fazl-Ḥaqq Khayrābādī, for instance, in the latter's view that the *Hanafi* school was the best of all schools of law, and that it was incumbent on every *Hanafi* to imitate blindly (*taqlid*) all the principles and details that had been expounded by the leaders of that school. He also opposed Khayrābādī's doctrine that the creation of another person like Muḥammad was an impossibility in itself (*imtinā' bi'l-dhat*).

This reform campaign remained non-political until about 1818, when Shāh Ismā'īl joined hand with Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd

of Ray-Bareli. Henceforth, this reform campaign gained wide popularity and came to be known as *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* movement. It also acquired a political character under the leadership of Sayyid Aḥmad Shāhīd, and in about 1824, it flared up into a *jihad* or holy war against the Sikh rule in the Punjab and the North west Frontier Province.

Sayyid Aḥmad Shāhīd was born at Ray-Bareli in 1786. From an early age the Sayyid was pious in his personal behaviour and generous to his friends. He took great pity on the hardship of the poverty-stricken people. He did not, however, have a formal education during his boyhood. Sometimes between 1800 and 1810 he arrived at Delhi and presented himself to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz at the seminary of Shāh Walī Allāh. In spite of great enthusiasm, formal education did not prove a success for him. In 1810 he joined the cavalry of Mīr Khān, who later became the Nawwab of Tonk, and Served until Mīr Khān entered into an agreement with the East India Company in 1816.

The Sayyid then came to Delhi and lived in association with Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, while Ismā'īl was touring the Punjab in disguise. During the long absence of Ismā'īl from Delhi, and amidst rumours that he was assassinated by the Sikhs, the Sayyid was elected by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz as his successor (*Jah-nashin*) for the religious leadership of the Muslim community. Shāh Ismā'īl, on return from his tour of the Punjab in 1818, met the Sayyid, paid allegiance to him and became his disciple. With the alliance of Ismā'īl and the Sayyid, the movement also entered into a new phase.

During the above first phase of the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah*, the liberal preachings of Ismā'īl towards a relaxation of the rigours of sectarianism and his attack on the heretic accretion of the traditional orthodoxy had roused a considerable opposition. The most prominent among his opponents was Mawlawī Fazl-i-Ḥaqq Khayrābādī.

Mawlawī Fazl-i-Ḥaqq (also known as 'Allama Fazl-i-Ḥaqq Khayrābādī or Daryābādī), was born in 1797. He was a man of great learning and was highly accomplished in philosophy (see 1, index, "*Khayrābādī*"). He was a staunch *Hanafi* and

had some controversy with Ismā'īl on several points, such as the validity of *taqlid* (i. e., blind imitation in matters of religion), desirability of sectarianism and on the nature of the prophet-hood of Muḥammad. He believed that the *Hanafi* school was the best of all schools of law in Islam; that, blind imitation on the part of the masses was incumbent; and Muḥammad having been the "seal of the prophets", (*Khatim al-nabiyyin*), creation of another prophet like him was an impossibility *per se*.

During the time of the revolt of 1857-1858, Fazl-i-Ḥaqq had joined hands with Aḥmad Allāh Shāh against the British and he had to remain a fugitive until he died in 1861.

The second phase of the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* began, as stated above, in 1818. Henceforth the Sayyid and Ismā'īl decided to undertake extensive tours in India for preaching, which proved a great success. In 1822 both of them set out for a pilgrimage to Makkah through Patna, Calcutta and Bombay, accompanied by hundreds of disciples. Under the leadership of the Sayyid, the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* was drifting towards a *Jihad* or a holy war aimed at the self-preservation of the Muslim community in India.

In 1823, when they returned from Makkah, the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* embarked on a *Jihad* against the Sikhs in the North west Frontier province. From 1824 to 1831 Ismā'īl and the Sayyid led about nine campaigns against the forces of Ranjit Singh, the then Sikh ruler of the Punjab. But, finally, they were surprised by the Sikh forces at Balakot in 1831, and both Ismā'īl and the Sayyid died fighting.

An off-shoot of this movement became also prominent in Bengal which was led by Mīr Nithār 'Alī *alias* Titu Mir, a disciple of Sayyid Aḥmad Shāhid. Under the peculiar socio-economic conditions of Bengal it quickly took the form of an agrarian reform and, in this context, came into violent conflict at first with the Hindu landlords and later with British government. It flourished from 1827 to 1831 and was annihilated by a military expedition from Calcutta at the end of 1831.

Previously the Sayyid had set up a network of supporters throughout Northern India from Peshawar to East Bengal, and the movement continued notwithstanding the death of Ismā'īl and the Sayyid. Furthermore, a considerable portion of the forces of the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* had settled on the mountainous fringes of the North West Frontier Province, near the famous Khyber Pass. They received military and financial help from the rest of the country for a considerable period and kept struggling against the penetration of British power into that region.

In East Bengal, there was another significant movement known as "Farā'idī". This movement arose independently of the reformist trend of Shāh Walī Allāh. It was started by Hājī Sharī'at Allāh as early as 1818.

Sharī'at Allāh received his education at Makkah, where he spent twenty years from about 1799 to 1818. There appears to be little doubt that the *Fara'idī* movement was inspired and greatly influenced by the *Wahhabi* reforms of Arabia. Yet it differed from Wahhabism in certain important respects, particularly in its compromising attitude toward sufism. Sharī'at Allāh accepted sufism in a modified form and practised it as a means to the attainment of piety and love of God.

The *Fara'idī* movement primarily aimed at introducing social and religious reform. It was based on two fundamental doctrines, viz., (i) the Unity of God, and (ii) equality and brotherhood of man. In addition, it acquired gradually an agrarian character. Thanks to this agrarianism, the movement spread throughout East Bengal in a short time.

In spite of constant intrigues and the enmity of the land-lords, the *Fara'idī* stood its ground during the life time of Sharī'at Allāh who died in 1840. The leadership of the movement then passed to his son Muḥsin al-Dīn Aḥmad *alias* Dudu Miyān.

In this chapter the bibliography follows the order as given below :—

- A. *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* : the first phase, down to 1818.
- B. Opposition to *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah*, to 1818.

- C. *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* : the second phase, from 1818 to 1831.
- D. *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* : after 1831.
- E. *Fara'idi* Movement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* : The first Phase to 1818.

268. **DIHLAWĪ**, Mirzā Ḥayrat, *Ḥayāt-i-ṭayyibah*. Lahore, Islamic publishing Co., circa 1940. 532 pp. A biography of Shāh Ismā'īl Shahīd, in Urdu. The work consists of two parts, the first part, pp. 26-252 dealing with the early years of Ismā'īl's life from 1779 to 1818 ; the second part dealing with events from 1818 to 1831. It is not, however, very carefully written, which may account for the criticism of Ghulām Rasūl Mehr (see 277, Vol. 1, p. 22).

The first part includes the following topics :

Genealogy of Ismā'īl, his early education and training, pp. 26-42.

His special interest in history and geography, pp. 42-48.

Physical culture, such as riding, sword-manship, running and swimming, pp. 49-60.

His lectures and preaching, pp. 61-118.

Opposition from the orthodox circle, pp. 93-130.

His ideals, pp. 131-183.

His tour of the Punjab in disguise, pp. 196-240.

Return from the Punjab and his meeting with Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd of Ray-Bareli. pp. 141-252.

269. **ISMĀ'ĪL SHAHĪD**, Shāh. *Taqwiyat al-Īmān*. This is one of the earliest works of Ismā'īl, written in Urdu. It was compiled apparently at a time when the warlike ideas had not become predominant in the mind of the author. It may have been completed

before Ismā'īl met Sayyid Aḥmad Shāhīd in 1818, as no influence of the Sayyid is discernible in it. This work is said to be a further development of Shāh Walī Allāh's work, *Tuḥfat al-Muwahhidin* (see 228). The second part of this work does not seem to have been completed by Ismā'īl.

The Urdu editions of the work are available :

- (a) Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismā'īl Shāhīd. *Taqwiyat al-īmān*. Bangalore, Barqi Urdu Press, 1371 A. H. (1951 A. D.) 78 pp.
- (b) *Taqwiyat al-īmān*. Cawanpore, Matba' Qayyumi, n. d. pp. 1-46. This work is a compendium of several tracts and monographs, including *Taqwiyat al-iman*.

There is also an English translation of this work : Mir Hashmat Ali : Support of the faith (*Taqwiyat-ul-iman* of Moulavi Ismail Hajji). Lahore, Orientalia, n. d. XVI, 76 pp. with 13 pp. of introduction by the translator (pp. I-XII). This is a reprint of an earlier edition published about 50 years before.

270. SELL, Edward. The faith of Islam. Madras, 3rd ed., 1907 pp. 175-80, and p. 182, foot note 1, contains a good appreciation of *Taqwiyat al-iman*.

B. Opposition to Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah to 1818

Among the opponents of Shāh Ismā'īl Shāhīd only one person, Mawlawī Fazl-i-Ḥaqq, came into the open. For an annotated bibliography of the works of Fazl-i-Ḥaqq see 1, index "*Khayrābādī, Faḍl Ḥaqq*". For his opposition against Ismā'īl, see 268, pp. 93-130. In addition, the following works give substantial information about the activities of Mawlawī Fazl-i-Ḥaqq.

- ✓ 271. ḤĀLĪ, Mawlawī Aḥṭāf Ḥusayn. *Yādgar-i-Ghālib*. Lahore, n. d., pp. 99-101, in Urdu. Refers to Fazl-i-Ḥaqq's influence on the famous poet Asad Allāh Khān

Ghalib with regard to the former's doctrine of *imtinā' al-nazir*, or the impossibility of the creation of another prophet like Muḥammad. Ghalib is said to have sided with Fazl-i-Ḥaqq.

272. SHAHABI, Muftī. Intizāmullāh. "Allama Faḍl-i-Ḥaqq", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, (Karachi), vol. I, part II, April 1953, pp. 157-63.
 273. SHAHABI, Mawlānā (Muftī) Intizāmullāh. East Indiyā kompanī awr bāghī 'ulamā'. (East India Company and rebel 'ulamā'). Delhi, Faruqi Press, n. d. 142 pp. This work gives some information about the activities of Mawlawī Fazl-i-Ḥaqq during the Sipahi Mutiny of 1857-58 (see pp. 53-62). It is written in Urdu.
 274. SHAHABI AKBARĀBĀDĪ, Muftī Intizāmullāh. Ghadar ke chand 'ulamā' (Some 'ulamā' of the Mutiny). Delhi, Nayā Kitāb Ghar, n. d., 142 pp. This work is about the leaders of the Mutiny of 1857-58, in Urdu. On pages 33 to 44 the activities of Mawlawī Fazl-i-Ḥaqq Khayrābādī are recorded.
- Garcin de tassy mentions one work, the *Ibtal-i-Taḳwiyat ul-iman*, or refutation of the *Taqwiyat al-iman* of Shāh Ismā'īl Shahīd. The name of the author has not been mentioned (see 16, vol. III, p. 116).

C. Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah : Second phase from 1818 to 1831

275. Asiatic Society of Bengal. "Notice of the peculiar tenets held by the followers of Sayed Ahmed taken chiefly from the *Sirat-ul-Mustaqim*" (see 310). *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta). vol. I, Nov. 1832 pp. 471-98. A critical assessment of the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* by an anonymous author who gives the initials J. H. C.
276. BUTT, Abdullah, ed. Aspects of Shah Ismail Shaheed : essays on his literary, political and religious activities. Lahore, 1943. 118 pp.

The work contains five articles in English and one Persian poem, contributed by different scholars in memory of Shāh Ism‘āil Shāhīd.

277. MEHR, Ghulām Rasul. Sayyid Aḥmad Shāhīd, 2 vols. Lahore, Kitab Manjil, 1954. 439+479 pp.

This work is a detailed biography of Sayyid Aḥmad Shāhīd in Urdu. The first volume deals with the early life of the Sayyid, to the year 1824. The second volume deals with the period of warfare against the Sikhs.

278. NADAWI, Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī. Sīrat-i-Sayyid Aḥmad Shāhīd, part I. 1st ed. 1939 ; Lucknow, 2nd ed. 1368 A. H. (1948. A. D.). 286 pp.

279. PEARSE, Hugh. Memoirs of Alexander Gardner. London, 1848. Chapter IX, pp. 166-74, gives a vivid description of the last encounter between the Sayyid and the Sikhs at Balakot.

280. RAHATSEK, E. "The history of the Wahhabys in Arabia and India". *Royal Asiatic Society Journal* (Bombay) vol. XIV, 1880.

This article gives an account of the *Fara’idi*, *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* and the activities of the people of the North West Frontier Province in a somewhat prejudicial manner. It also attempts to provide supplementary evidence to Hunter’s findings.

The trial of Ameer Khan and Hashmdad Khan of Bengal, is also mentioned. An elaborate bibliography of fifteen *Wahhabi* works in India has also been given.

See also the following :

133. pp. 312-37. Gives a cogent account of the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah*.
 143. vol. II, pp. 280-316 : "Sayyid Aḥmad Shāhib kī taḥrīk".
 289. pp. 69-96- A fairly good historical assessment of the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah*.

151. pp. 7-55. An attempt to record a chronological account of the movements connected with the Sayyid.
12. pp. 67-112, "Sayyidunā Muḥammad Ismā'īl Shahīd". This is an account of the life and works of Ismā'īl as a great leader of the reformist trend of Shāh Walī Allāh.
16. vol. III, pp. 32-37. An account of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd; and vol. II, pp. 52-57, an account of Shāh Ismā'īl Shahīd.
- 269 (b). pp. 47-326. This is a compendium of several tracts and monographs, and includes some important literature of the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah*.

For the influences of *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* in Bengal see the following :—

281. AHMAD KHAN, Muin-ud-Din. "The Struggle of Titu Mir : a re-examination". *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, vol. IV, Dacca, 1959.

D. *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* After 1831.

The Balakot disaster of 1831, in which the Sayyid and Ismā'īl were killed, ended the jihād campaigns of the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah*. But the movement resumed its preaching and propaganda for social and religious reforms with redoubled vigour under the leadership of Wilāyat 'Alī, 'Ināyat 'Alī, Shāh Muḥammad Ishāq, Mamlūk 'Alī and others. Shortly after, however, the movement came in direct conflict with the then North-West Frontier policy of the East India Company government, and its strength was broken by the famous "Sitanah campaign" and "the Ambala trial" of 1863-1861.

Thereafter the movement almost completely disintegrated, and with the exception of a few fighting tribes in the North-west frontier province, the spirit of the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* was absorbed by a few successor movements, such as *Ahl-i-*

Hadith, *Deoband* movement, and, much later, *Ahl-i-Quran*, all of which were more intellectual in nature than political.

In this section such works and articles are listed which deal with movement roughly from 1831 to 1864 and the North-west frontier campaigns of the British Indian government down to the year 1920.

282. ADYE, John. *Recollections of a military life*, New York, Macmillan, 1895. Chapters XVII-XIX, contain a fairly good account of the Sitanah campaign.
283. AHMAD KHAN, Sir Sayyid. *Ākhirī mazāmin* (latest essays) Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar, 1941. 106 pp. Discusses various topics such as Indian politics, relation between India and Turkey, Indian Wahhabism, etc, in Urdu.
284. BRUCE, R. I. *The forward policy and its results, or thirty-five years work among the tribes on our North-Western Frontier of India*. Longmans, Green and co., 1900. 373 pp. Policy of the British Indian government to the tribal people of the North-West Frontier Province to the year 1898.
285. CHURCHILL, S. L. S. *The Story of the Malakand field force*. Toronto, 1898. Campaign of the British Indian Government in the North-West Frontier.
286. COTTON, S. J. *Nine years on the northwest frontier of India*. London, 1868. This work gives an account of the British military forces in the North—West Frontier Province from 1854 to 1863, including an account of the Sitanah campaign.
287. DUNMORE, A. E. Murray. *A frontier campaign : operation of the Malakand and the Bunner field forces 1897-98*. London, 1898.
288. DURAND, Algernon. *The making of the frontier : five years' experience and adventure in Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Chitral and the Eastern Hindu Kush 1889-1893*. London, 1899. 292 pp.
289. HAYY, Khwaja 'Abd al-. *Jihād-i-millat*. Lahore, n. d. A historical assessment of the *Tariqah-i-Mnhammadiyah*

movement after 1831, written in Urdu. See especially pp. 69-96.

290. HUSAIN Mahmud. The Ambala campaign 1863. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (Karachi), vol. I, part II, pp. 105-17. Assessment of the Ambala campaign, fully documented.
291. HUTCHISON, N. D. The campaign in Tirah 1897-98 : the expedition against the Orakzais and Afridis. London, 1898.
292. JAMES, Lionel. The Indian frontier war : being an account of the Mohamund and Tirah expedition 1897. London, 1898.
293. KEPPEL, The Hon'ble Arnold. Gun-running and the Indian North-West Frontier. London, John Murray, 1911. 307 pp. pp. 1-106 reviews the relations between the British Indian government and the frontier tribes.
294. NEVILL, Captain H. L. Campaign on the North-West Frontier. London, John Murry, 1912. 382 pp. This work gives a detailed account of warfare in the North West Frontier Province and the Punjab from 1849 to 1908.
295. SĀBIRĪ, Imdād. *Sīrat-i-Hajjī Imdād Allāh awr un ke khulafā'*. Delhi, 1951. A biographical work of Hajjī Imdād Allāh and an account of his disciples, in Urdu. The Hajjī was a prominent follower of Sayyid Ahmad Shāhid.
296. SĀ'IS, Firishtah Jabr Allāh al-. *Qur'ān Majīd ke rushnī mēn shirk kī nu'īyat kā Khākah*. Lahore, Ashraf, n. d. 82 pp. A pamphlet on the types of polytheism (shirk) in the light of Qur'ān, written in Urdu.
297. THĀNĪSARĪ, Mawlānā Muḥammad. *Kālā pānī yā Tārīkh-i-ʿajīb* (Exile to Andaman Islands or a curious history). Lahore, Iqbal Academy, n. d. 112 pp. An interesting autobiography of Mawlānā Thānīsārī, covering the period of his life in exile to the Andaman Islands, from 1863 to 1883, written in Urdu. He was a prominent religious leader of Muslim India,

was accused of disloyalty in the Ambala case of 1863-64, and was sentenced to death. The sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. The work gives a description of the Ambala case.

298. YOUNGHUSBAND, Captain G. J. and YOUNGHUSBAND Captain F. E. The relief of Chitral. London, Macmillan, 1895. 183 pp. A description of the frontier campaigns of 1893-1895.

E. Fara'idi Movement :

299. AHMAD KHAN, Muin-ud-Din. A History of the *Fara'idi* movement in Bengal down to A. D. 1906. (Thesis submitted to the Dacca University for the degree of Ph. D., 1960), 372 typed pages.
300. AHMAD KHAN, Muin-ud-Din. "Tomb Inscription of Ḥājī Shari'at Allāh: a *Fara'idi* relic". *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, vol. III, Dacca, 1958, p. 195 ff.
301. 'Alī, Muḥammad Imdād. Iẓharul Ḥaq bā Jumār Bahath (Bengali). Sharshina, East Pakistan, B. S. 1342.
302. 'Alī, Wazīr. Muslim Ratnahār (Barisal). Barisal, East Pakistan, B. S. 1334.
303. DURR-I-MUḤAMMAD. Farā'idī Puthi (Bengali), Published circa. A. D. 1903. (Collection of the present writer).
304. NĀẒIM AL-DĪN. Farā'idī Puthi (Bengali), Published circa. 1906. (Collectin of the present writer).
305. HOSAIN, M. Hidāyet. "Farā'idī sect." E. I., vol. II, pp. 57-59. This account however, abounds in error (See 300)

F. Supplement to the Bibliography of Early Reform Movements. Writings of Shah Ismail Shahid

Shāh Ismā'īl Shahid wrote a number of works :

306. Mansab-i-Imāmat (on leadership). This work is on the leadership of the Muslim community. He maintains that no compromise can be made between Islamic leader-

ship and kingship. The work advocates a pure theocracy (see 276, pp. 48-53).

307. *Ḥaḳīqat-i-taṣawwuf* (On Sufism). (See 12, p. 67 ff.)
308. *Iẓhar al-ḥaqq al-sarīḥ* (The plain truth). This work is about burying the dead, and different rites connected with it. (See 276, pp. 48-53).
309. *Risālat-i-ik rūzah* (Treatise of one day). The title indicates that this small work was written in one day. This is an answer to the objections raised by Fazl-i-Ḥaqq *Khayrābādī* against *Ismā'īl's* preachings. (see 276, pp. 48-53).
310. *Sirāṭ-i-mustaqīm* (The straight path). This work is on the teachings of Islam. It includes important doctrines of Sayyid Ahmad *Shahīd*.
311. *Uṣūl-i-fiqh*. This work is on the sources of Islamic law (see 276, pp. 48-53).

Some Important General Accounts of the *Tariqah-i-Muhamadiyah* and the *Fara'idi* Movement

312. Calcutta review (Calcutta, vols. C. Ci., and Cii., circa 1870. These volumes apparently contain a few articles dealing with the doctrines and activities of Sayyid Ahmad *Shahīd*, *Shāh Ismā'īl Shahīd*, *Titu Mīr*, *Sharī'at Allāh* and *Dudu Miyān*.

CHAPTER V

THE GREAT REVOLT OF 1857-1858

The great revolt of 1857-1858 has been popularly known as the Sepoy Mutiny but, in recent times, widely interpreted as war of Independence. It represents a complex reaction of the Hindus and Muslims of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent against the usurpation of political power by the East India Company and a supreme attempt on the part of the people to rehabilitate the old indigenous order or the cosmopolitan Mughal system in place of the new order imposed by the British.

The immediate causes were resentment of the native army to the disrespect shown by the English Officers to their religion and socio-religious customs. It also embodied a protest against the proselytising activities of the Christian missionaries. Secondly, the habitual lack of deep-seated allegiance of a mercenary army to arrogant and haughty foreign rulers.

The real causes were however, long standing and chronic. This became evident when the revolt flared up on a wide scale when the mutiny of the British native army took the shape of a national rebellion. In the first place, it may be judged as a revolt of the popular conscience to drive away the foreign rulers with the object of establishing indigenous rule. This patriotic feeling was long nurtured by the policy of agrandizement adopted by the officials of the East India Company and was fed by the injured pride of the people on account of the ill-treatment and deception to which the indigenous princes were subjected to by the British Officials. Secondly, it was a revolt of the old order against the new one which did not recognise the moral values, social customs and prejudices of the people. In this respect, it was the overthrown princes, deprived landlords and disgruntled nobles who succeeded to intensify the struggle. Thirdly, it was inspired by a religious feeling. Hence, the appeal

of the leaders to the Hindus as well as the Muslims to stand forth in defence of religion was most effective.

Literature on this Revolt is very extensive. A select bibliography is attempted in the following pages :—

313. AHMD KHĀN, Sir Sayyid. *Asbāb-i-baghāwat-i-Hind 1857* (Causes of the Indian Mutiny of 1857). Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar, n. d. 66 pp., in Urdu. The author thinks that the causes of the Sipāhī Mutiny were various and of long standing. The most important one was the absence of any Indian representative in the legislative council who could work as intermediary between the English government and the Indian people. A partial translation of this work is found in 425, chapter IV, pp. 32-57. see also 167.
314. ALEXANDER, W. G. *Recollection of a Highland subaltern during campaign in India 1857-59*. London, 1898 12+360 pp.
315. (Anonymous). *The annexation of Oudh one of the main causes of the rebellion, in India*. Manchester, Looney and Phillip (Printers), circa. 1857. 8 pp. This appears to be a cutting or a reprint from a newspaper (Library of McGill University, Montreal). "The case", it says, "involves no study or research, it is simply a burglary."
316. (Anonymous). *The story of the Indian Mutiny 1857-58*. Edinburgh, circa 1890. 224 pp. (Published along with *The Mutiny of the Bounty*, bound in one volume). The work contains a fairly good account of the Sipāhī Mutiny, and valuable information about related events. The author's memory of the Mutiny appears to be fresh.
317. BALL, Charles. *The history of the Indian Mutiny giving a detailed account of the sepoy insurrection in India ; and a concise history of the great military events which have tended to consolidate British empire in Hindostan*. London, n. d. 427 pp.
318. BĀRĪ (Sa'īdah Bārī and Mas'ūd Bārī). *Kompany ki ḥakumat*. (The rule of the company). Lahore, Maktabah-i-Urdu, 1st ed. 1938 ; 3rd ed. 1944. 414 pp. It reflects

the attitude of Indians toward the East India Company's rule, and discusses the Mutiny in detail.

- ✓ 319. BIRD, R. W. The spoliation of Oudh. London, 1857. 24 pp. A valuable tract giving a clear and concise exposition of the relations between the East India Company and the Nawab of Oudh.
320. BONHAM, John. Oudh in 1857., some memories of the Indian Mutiny. London, William and Norgate, 1928. 95 pp.
321. BOURCHIER, George. Eight months' campaign against the Bengal Sepoy Army during the Mutiny of 1857. London, 1858. 202 pp.
322. BUCKLER, F. W. The political theory of the Indian Mutiny. *Royal Historical Society*, 4th series (London), vol. V, 1871 pp. 71-100. An interesting article. See also 329.
323. CANDLER, Edmund. The sepoy. London, John Murray, 1919. 232 pp. Description of different races who formed the *sipahi*, or native army.
324. CAREY, W. H. Mahomedan rebellion ; its premonitory symptoms : the outbreak and suppression. Rookes (London?), 1957. 241 pp. A collection of documentary evidence arranged in chronological order. The Shāh of Persia is accused of being the chief instigator of the Mutiny (supp. 1-8). The *Chapati* (flat bread) and greased cartridge affairs are discussed in detail (see pp. 9-35).
- ✓ 325. CAVE-BROWNE, J. The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, 2 vols. London, 1861.
326. COOPER, Frederick H. The crisis in the Punjab from the 10th of May until the fall of Delhi. Lahore, 1858. 154+vi. pp. A brief account of conditions in the Panjab during the Mutiny.
327. CRAWSHAY George. The immediate cause of the Indian Mutiny as set forth in the official correspondence. London, 1857. 28 pp. Being a lecture delivered on Nov. 4, 1857 by George Crawshay, Mayor of Gatehead. The author affirms the accuracy of the "Greased

cartridges" charge and places blame for the Mutiny on the British.

328. CRAWSHAY, George. Proselytism destructive of Christianity and incompatible with political dominion. London, 1858. 44 pp. Being a speech delivered by Crawshay on Aug. 25, 1858, about Christian missionaries in India.
329. DEWAR, D. and GARRETT, H. L. A reply to Mr. F. W. Buckler's the political theory of the Indian Mutiny. *Royal Historical Society*, 4th series (London), vol. VII, 1924, pp. 131-165. see also 322.
330. DODD, George. The history of the Indian revolt and of the expeditions to Persia, China and Japan 1857-58. London, 1859. 634 pp.
331. EDWARDS, H. B. Memorials of the life and letters of Maj. Gen. Sir H. G. Edwards, ed. by his wife, 2 vols. London, 1886.
332. EDWARDS, William. Reminiscences of a Bengal civilian. London, Smith, and Co. 1866. 352 pp. The author was a high court judge at Agra. He links the Mutiny with the English defeat in Afghanistan in 1841 (see pp. 305-340). An account of the Mutiny is offered in pp. 136-352. see especially chapter XX. "Facts and reflections connected with the Indian rebellion."
333. FANSHAWE, H. C. Delhi past and present. London, 1902 XXII+337 pp.
334. FITCHETT, William Henry. The tale of the great Mutiny. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1901. 384 pp. Translated into German by Kurt von Brocks. *Revolution über Indian*: Aus dem Englischen übertragen von Kurt von Brocks. Berlin, Kommodore Verlag, 1939. 205 pp. This is one of the most important works on the Sipāhī Mutiny.
335. FORREST, G. W. A history of the Indian Mutiny : reviewed and illustrated from original documents, 3 vols. Edinburgh and London, William Blackwood and sons, 1908. 3 vols, 507, 368, and 623 pp.

- ✓ 336 FORREST, G. W. Selections from the letters, despatches and other state papers in the Military Department of the Government of India 1857-1858, 3 vols. Calcutta, Military Department Press, 1893-1902. This is a fairly good collection of documents.
- ✓ 337. FOSTER, William. A guide to the India office records 1600-1858. London, India Office, 1919. 130 pp. A comprehensive catalogue of the official records, government reports, and publications of the East India Company.
338. GIMLETTE, G. H. D. A postscript to the records of the Indian Mutiny : an attempt to trace the subsequent careers and fates of rebel Bengal Regiments 1857-58. London, H. F. & G. Witherby, 1927. 222 pp.
339. GOLDSMITH, Sir F. J. James Outram, a biography by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmith, 2 vols. London, 1880. see 335, vol. II.
340. GRANT, (James) HOPE and KNOLLYS. H. Incidents in the Sepoy war 1857-58. Edinburgh and London, 1873. xiv+380 pp. This is an interesting work with extensive narration on different campaigns.
341. HODSON, W. S. R. Twelve years of a soldier's life in India. Boston, 3rd ed., 1860. 444 pp.
- ✓ 342. HOIMES, T. R. E. A history of the Indian Mutiny, and of the disturbances which accompanied it among the civil population. London, W. H. Allen and Co., 4th ed. 1891 pp. Offers a chronological day to day account of the Mutiny from the beginning in 1857 to the end in 1858.
343. INNES, J. J. M. The Sepoy revolt, a critical narrative. London, 1897. 291 pp.
- ✓ 344. JACOB, G. (L). G. Western India before and during the Mutiny. London, 1871. 8+262 pp.
- x 345. KAYE, J. W. History of the Sepoy war in India 1857-58, 2 vols. London, 1870. vol. I, deals with the administration of Dalhousie and Canning, and the Afghan war of 1838, vol. II, narrates the seizure of Delhi and related events.

346. LECKEY, Edward. Fiction connected with the Indian outbreak of 1857, exposed. Bombay, 1859. 22-178 pp. The work gives numerical figures of different military regiments.
347. LEWIN, Malcolm, ed. Causes of the Indian revolt by a Hindu of Bengal. London, n. d. 34 pp. This work reflects the view that a major cause of the Mutiny was the proselytizing activities of the Christian missionaries, the Army and the Government. See also 357.
- ✓ 348. MACMUNN, George F. The Indian Mutiny in perspective. London, 1931. xii-276 pp. Bibliog, pp. i-xii. A fairly well integrated account of the Mutiny.
349. MACMUNN, George (F). Vignettes from Indian wars. London, Sampson Low, Marston and Co., n. d. 214 pp. This is an account of the English wars in India from 1761 to 1797, including the Mutiny of 1857-1858.
350. MALLESON, G. B. Indian Mutiny 1857, London, 2nd ed. 1891. 421 pp. This is a concise and complete narration of the mutiny.
351. MALLESON, G. B. Mutiny of the Bengal army ; an historic narrative by one who served under Sir Charles Napier. London, 1858. 215 pp.
352. MANGIN, Arthur. La revolts en Bengale en 1857 et 1858, souvenirs d'un officier irlandais, recordes d'une introduction géographique, descriptive et historique. Tours, 1862. 337 pp.
353. MARSHMAN, John. Clark. Memoirs of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock. London, 3rd ed. 1867. 10+457 pp. see 335.
354. MARTIN, (Le Commandant) Ch. La puiesance militaire des Anglais dans l' Inde et l'. insurrection des cipayes, resume historique et critique des campagnas de l' armee Anglaise dans l' Inde en 1857 et 1858. Paris, 1859. 492 pp.
355. MEAD, Henry. The Sepoy revolt : its causes and its consequences. London, 1858. 378 pp.
- ✕ 356. MEHTA, Asoka. The great rebellion of 1857. Bombay,

- Hind kitab Ltd., 1946. 80 pp. Bibliog. pp. 78-80. The author regards the Sipahi Mutiny as a war of independence, and promises a larger study on the subject. See especially pp. 59-66 : Causes of the failure ; and pp. 67-76 : its effects.
357. METCALFE, Ch. Theophilus. Two native narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi. London, 1898. 26+245 pp. Being a translation of two manuscripts confided to Metcalfe by Muin al-Din Hasan Khan and Munshi Jevan Lal. This is one of the important native sources.
358. MITCHELL, W. F. Reminiscences of the great Mutiny 1857-59. London, 1894. 12+295 pp. A narration of interesting personal experiences of the author in different field operation. A comparison between the Indian and British swords has been offered in Appendix C.
359. MUIR, William. Records of the Intelligence Department of the government of the North West Province of India during the Mutiny of 1857, including correspondences with the Supreme Government Delhi, Cawnpore, and other places. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1902. This is a collection of documents.
360. MUSSEHOONNEEN (Khan Bahadur), Moulbee. Oude, its princes and its government, vindicated. London, 1857. A defence of the government and administration of the Nawab of Oudh by Mawlawi Masīḥ al-Dīn Khān Bahādur.
361. NASH, John. Tullock. Volunteering in India or an authentic narrative of the military services of the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry during the Indian Mutiny and Sepoy war. London, 1893. 136 pp. An account of those Englishmen who volunteered for military service in India during the Mutiny.
362. NORTH, C. N. Journal of an English officer in India. London, 1858. 280 pp. Events are described with dates from May 14, 1857 to Jan. 10, 1858.
363. NORTON, John Bruce. The rebellion in India : how to

prevent another. London, Richardson Brothers, 1857. 244 pp. A criticism of the policy of East India Company government.

364. RAIKES, Charles. Notes on the revolt in the north western provinces of India. London, 1858. 159 pp. The author served as Justice at Agra. He gives an account of individual cases which were brought before him. The work is quite informative.
365. (SAVARKAR, Vinayak). An Indian Nationalist. The Indian war of independence of 1857. London, Circa 1909. xii+451 pp. The work was proscribed by the British government, and the author sentenced to life imprisonment. It is available in American libraries. It throws considerable light on the organizational aspect of the Sipahi Mutiny and on the activities of Nānā Ṣāhib and Mawlānā Aḥmad Allāh.
366. SHAHĀBĪ, Muftī Intizām Allāh. Mawlānā Aḥmad Allāh Shāh. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (Karachi,) Vol. II, part I, Jan. 1954. pp. 51-59. Aḥmad Allāh Shāh was a prominent leader of the Sipāhī Mutiny.
367. SHEPHERD, W. A personal narrative of the outbreak and massacre at Cawnpore during the Sepoy revolt 1857. Agra, Delhi Gazette press, 1863. 2-192-17. pp. The work is not free from exaggeration.
368. SHOWERS, Charles. A missing chapter of the Mutiny. London, Longmans, Green, 1888. 214 pp. An account of the progress and suppression of the Mutiny in Mewar state.
369. SIEVEKING, I. Giborne. A turning point in the Indian Mutiny (the defence of Arrah). London, David Nutt, 1910. 217 pp. Arrah was the capital of the district of Shahabad, lying between Bihar and Buxar. The author contends that the annexation of Oudh was Lord Dalhousie's last great act of unwisdom.
370. STEWART, Ch. E. Through Persia in disguise with remi-

- niscences of the Indian Mutiny. New York, 1911. 430 pp.
371. SYKES, W. H. Speech (in the House of Commons) on the proposed India Bill, Feb. 18, 1858. London, 1858. 67 pp.
372. THOMPSON, Edward. The other side of the medal. London, Leonard & Virginia Woolf, 1935. 143 pp. This is one of the most important works which attempt to describe the conduct of the English administrators during the Mutiny, with an appendix, "Notes on Mutiny literature" (pp. 134-136), and Personal notes', (pp. 136-143).
373. THORNHILL, Mark. Personal adventures and experiences of a magistrate during the rise, progress and suppression of the Indian Mutiny. London, 1884. 334 pp.
374. TREVELYAN, G. O. Cawnpore. London, 3rd ed. 1866. 305 pp.
375. URQUHART, David. The rebellion of India : the wondrous tale of the greased cartridges. London, 1857. 15 pp. A collection of important official correspondence and records.
376. URQUDART, David. The rebellion of India. London, 1857. 31 pp. The work considers mainly to subjects :
 (i) Mr. Disraeli's speech on the Mutiny, and
 (ii) the illegality of abolishing native customs.
377. WALKER, T. N. Through the Mutiny : reminiscences of thirty years : active service and sport in India, 1854-1883. London, 1907. 203 pp.
378. WARNER, W. L. Memoirs of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wylie Norman. 1908. 25+235 pp.
379. WILBERFORCE, R. G. An unrecorded chapter of the Indian Mutiny : personal reminiscences. London, 3rd ed., 1895. 18+2+220 pp.
380. WILSON, F. H. Rambles in northern India, with incidents and descriptions of many scenes of the Mutiny. London, 1876. 6+86 pp.

PART II

The Revolt of 1857-1858 marked a turning point in Indian history. With its suppression the long line of Muslim rule in India came to an end, and all hope of recovering Muslim hegemony was removed. In 1857 Emperor Bahādur Shāh was removed from the throne of Delhi and exiled to Rangoon. In 1858 India was declared a colony of the British Crown. This marked the end of the rule of the East India Company.

Against the background of the Revolt two significant movements arose among the Muslims of India. One was the conservative Deoband movement, which aimed at the preservation of Muslim culture through the spread of religious education and preaching. The other was the modernist Aligarh movement, which sought political and educational advancement of Muslims through the cultivation of western science and philosophy. The protagonist of both movements had concentrated their attention in the educational field, and in time, evolved two educational systems, each being radically different from the other.

The founders of the Deoband movement were largely the successors of Shāh Walī Allāh's reform movement. They viewed the western penetration into India as a challenge of Christianity to Islam (See 159, vol. I, pp. 21-37). They were suspicious of Europe and based their system of education on the traditional Nizāmiah scheme.

To the liberal section of the Muslim community the European impact appeared as a political, economic and intellectual challenge rather than a religious one. They were quick to realise the significance of the impact of modern science and technology on the old ways of life. Accordingly, they based the Aligarh movement on the model of Cambridge and Oxford Universities.

Another type of response to the European impact was the *Ahmadiyah* movement. In all appearance it was a counter-attack to the proselytising activities of the Christian missionaries. Its aims and objects were entirely religious. It sought to spread Islam in the countries of Europe and of America through the appli-

cation of modern proselytising techniques learned from the Christian missionaries.

In the course of time there arose several other cultural and religious movements such as *Nadwat al-'Ulama*, *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam*, *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu*, *Jama'at-i-Tabligh*, and *Falsafah-i-Rabbani*. These have been more or less imbued by the desire to bring about a synthesis between the principles of Islam and the realities of modern life. In recent times there have arisen also two cultural movements, which have gained considerable popularity in Pakistan, *Jama'at-i-Islami* in the western wing, and *Tamaddun Majlis* in the eastern wing. The former displays a conservative outlook and rejects everything from Europe or America, the latter is a modernist movement which seeks for a rapprochement between Pakistan and the west.

The Aligarh policy of encouraging modern education among Muslims engendered political consciousness of a healthy type, and led eventually to the formation of the All India Muslim League in 1906. From 1909 to 1919 diverse political events in India and outside brought the Muslims of India into the field of active politics from which they had previously tended to keep aloof. The Lucknow pact of 1916 between the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress followed, along with the subsequent *Khilafat* and "non-violent non-co-operation" movements. These were jointly sponsored by the League and the Congress and brought Hindus and Muslims closer together. The fundamental aim of both the parties was to achieve Independence for India. The then growing spirit of Indian nationalism had a tremendous appeal to both the communities.

However, around 1930, when the leaders of the two parties attempted a concrete settlement of their respective rights and privileges, serious differences cropped up which could not be easily resolved. In the meantime the *Khilafat* movement ended, and Indian nationalism progressively took on the appearance of Hindu nationalism. The central question was what form of government India would have after independence. The league demanded a federal type of government with extensive provincial autonomy, and adequate constitutional safeguards for minority communities. The Congress favoured a

unitary government with a strong centre, and persistently evaded the problem by its policy statement, "acquisition (or independence) first and distribution next. "This resulted in estrangement of the Muslims from Indian nationalism.

In 1930 Iqbal had moved for an independent Muslim state in north-western India. In 1936 the All-India Muslim League, which was pushed into oblivion during the *Khilafat* movement, was revitalised under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In 1940 the Pakistan resolution was adopted by the League. The failure of the Cabinet Mission's plan for a federation of India in 1946 removed all possibilities of Hindu-Muslim agreement for a united India. In 1947 two independent states, India and Pakistan, emerged as the successors of British India.

CHAPTER I

DEOBAND MOVEMENT

The Mutiny of 1857-1858 had left Muslim religious leaders, or the '*Ulama*', in a tragic situation. Their status was severely affected by the educational policy adopted by the East India Company government in 1835. It stated that "the great object of the British government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India and that the fund appropriated to education would be best employed in English education alone," (see 524, p. 42). Furthermore, after the Mutiny their patrons were gone and their honour was lost (see 151, p. 212 ff.). "It was a calamity and disaster" says one of their historians, "with which Indian Muslims were afflicted for the first time; all sources (of relief) were tried and exhausted; and the fate (*taqdir*) had overcome all endeavours (*tadbir*)". (See 159, part I, pp. 50-51).

Yet, there were some individuals among the '*ulama*' who had long experience in teaching. They had inherited the hitherto popular educational system called *Dars-i-Nizamiyah* (see 152, p. 404 ff.) They were also the successors of the reform movement of *Shāh Walī Allāh*. Their hearts were throbbing with energy and they were eager to do something to preserve Islamic culture in India.

Before and after the Mutiny the '*ulama*' were caught in a difficult situation because they opposed the study of English as an insidious device of Christian missionaries to gain converts, yet they found, ignorance of it, a great disadvantage. In order to defend Islam, they had to take part in lengthy debates with Christian missionaries. The debates were frequently held at Lucknow, Delhi and elsewhere (see 151, p. 219; 159, part I, p. 34 ff.; and 168, pp. 233-42). They had to write, in addition, tracts and pamphlets in refutation of the Christian

missionary polemics against Islam (see 159, part I, pp. 35-37).

After the Mutiny they met in the United Province (U. P.) of India and decided to start three religious seminaries, at Deoband, Saharanpur and Muradabad. These seminaries were called *Dar al-'Ulum*, *Mazahir al-'Ulum* and *Madrasah-Qasim al-'Ulum* respectively (see 159, part I, p. 53.)

The movement progressed with great speed and soon came to occupy an important place in the Muslim world. In course of time, however, the Deoband seminary assumed the central position and the other two seminaries were subordinated to it. Writing in 1943, W. C. Smith remarks about the Deoband seminary, "Next to the Azhar of Cairo, it is the most important and respected theological academy of the Muslim world" (see 168, p. 295).

The influence of the Deoband movement has been widespread among the Muslims of India and Pakistan. Innumerable schools of the Deoband type were established in the length and breadth of these two countries.

About the year 1781 an Islamic theological seminary had been established at Calcutta, which was maintained by the British Government. The seminary was known as Calcutta Madrasah and produced a large number of theologians every year. This Madrasah, which was controlled by the government, developed a tendency of opposition to Deoband.

Another educational movement which sought a rapprochement between the traditional Muslim system of education and the modern system, was *Nadwat al-'Ulama'*, founded about 1890 in the United province (U. P.). In East Bengal a similar movement was started about the year 1913. which is known as "Reformed Scheme of Muslim Education." These movements are excluded from this bibliography because of the lack of materials.

A. Bibliography of Books Dealing with Deoband Movement

381. DEOBANDI, Mawlānā Muḥammad Shafi'. *Fatawa-i-Dār al-'Ulum*, Deoband. 2 vols. Karachi, Maktabah-i-

Dar al-Ishā'at, 1366 A. H. (1946 A. D.). 216+215 pp. The work covers different legal and religious questions. The author is also known as Muftī (see suppl. "Deobandī").

382. DEOBANDĪ, Mawlānā Muḥammad Shafī'. *Sīrat-i-khātim al-ambiyā'* (Biography of the last of the prophets), Karachi, 1368 A. H. (1948 A. D.). 153 pp. A concise biography of the Prophet in Urdu.

283. IṢLĀHĪ, Najm al-Dīn, ed. *Maktūbāt-i-Shaykh al-Islām*. (Writings of Shaykh al-Islām), part I. A'zamgarh Matbāh-i-Ma'arif, 1952. 452 pp. This work is about the writings of Shaykh al-Islām Mawlānā Ḥusayn Aḥmad Madanī (see suppl. "Madanī"). It is written in Urdu, and gives considerable information about the Deoband seminary.

* 384. MADANĪ, Sayyid Ḥusayn Aḥmad. *Naqsh-i-ḥayāt-i-Khod nosht sawanih* (Autobiography), vol. I. Delhi, Dilli printing Works, 1953. 408 pp. This work gives detailed information about the internal administration and the educational system of Deoband. It is written in Urdu (see suppl. "Madanī").

~ 385. MADANĪ, Mawlānā Ḥusayn Aḥmad. *Safar nāmah-i-Shaykh al-Hind, asīr-i-Maḥṭā*. Delhi, Dīnī Book Depot, 1947. 222 pp. An account of the travels of Mawlānā Maḥmūd Ḥasan (see suppl. "Ḥasan"), while he was interned in Malta during World War I. Events during the World War had induced the Ulama to take active parts in politics. Mawlānā Maḥmūd Ḥasan was then the leader of Deoband and worked in co-operation with the nationalist *Khilafat* and non-violent, non-co-operation movements. The author, Mawlānā Ḥusayn Aḥmad Madanī, accompanied him, when he was arrested and sent to Malta. The work gives valuable information about the *Khilafat* movement. It is written in Urdu.

∫ 386. NĀNŪTAWĪ, Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāsim. *Taqrīr-i-dīl-pazīr*. Deoband, 1359 A. H. (1940 A. D. 240 pp.).

A speech of Mawlānā Qāsim Nānutawī (see suppl. "Nānutawī"), one of the founders of Deoband movement.

387. RAḤMĀN, Ḥifẓ al-. Islām kā iqtisādī nizām (Economic system of Islām). Delhi, Jayyad Barqī Press, 1358 A. H. (1949 A. D.) 248 pp., in Urdu.
388. THĀNAWĪ, Mawlānā Ashraf 'Alī. Ḥayāt-i-muslimīn : mus-almanūn kā mawjūdah mashkilāt awr masā'il ka mukammal i'ā'j (contemporary problems in the day-to-day life of Muslims and their solutions). Karachi, n. d. This is a small tract in Urdu, in which the author attempts to interpret the spirit of Islam. See also suppl. "Thānawī."
389. THĀNAWĪ, Mawlānā Muḥammad Ashraf 'Alī. Iṣlāḥ al-rusūm (Reformation of usages). Karachi, Kutub Khānah-i-Ashrafiyah, 1371 A. H. (1951 A. D.). 129 pp. On the purification of the Islamic customs and usages in society.
390. THĀNAWĪ, Mawlānā Muḥammad Ashraf 'Alī. Islam wa 'aqaliyāt (Islām and logic). Lahore, Idārah-i-Ashrafiyah, 1952. This is a small work, in Urdu, in which the author contends that Islam is not antagonistic to reason.
391. 'UTHMĀNĪ, Mawlānā Shabbīr Aḥmed. Maqālāt-i-'Usmānī (Sayings of Uthmānī). Lahore, 1947. 320 pp., in Urdu. See also suppl. "Uthmānī".

B. Supplement to the Bibliography of Deoband Movement

The material for this supplement has been furnished by Sayyid Maḥbūb Riẓwī, who is in charge of the Muḥāfiẓ Khānah, Dār al-'Ulūm Deoband. (Correspondence no. 2444, dated May 3. 1955 signed by Sayyid Maḥbūb Riẓwī, on the authority of the Na'ib Muhtamim, Dār al-'Ulūm Deoband.) All works listed in this supplement are available at the Library of Dār al-'Ulūm Deoband, U. P. India, and information regarding them can be had from Sayyid Maḥbūb Riẓwī.

Historical works on the Deoband Movement in Urdu

- GILĀNĪ, Manāẓir Aḥsan. Sawānīḥ Qāsimī (Biography of Qāsim). Deoband, *Circa*. 1955. Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāsim Nānūtawī was a student of Shah 'Abd al-Ghanī, and one of the founders of the Deoband movement.
- ✓ RIẒWĪ, Sayyid Maḥbūb. Dār al-'Ulūm Deoband ik naẓar mēn (Dār al-'Ulūm Deoband at a glance). This is a concise history of Deoband.
- ✓ RIẒWĪ, Sayyid Maḥbūb. Dār al-'Ulūm Deoband ke kutub Khānah (Library of Deoband). This Library has a collection of 70,000 books.
- ✓ RIẒWĪ, Sayyid Maḥbūb. Dar al-'Ulūm Deoband ke ta'līmī Khusūṣiyat (The system of education at Dar al-Ulum, Deoband).
- ✓ RIẒWĪ, Sayyid Maḥbūb. Tārīkh-i-Deoband (History of Deoband).

Prominent 'Ulama' of Deoband and their works

AḤMAD, (Akbarābādī), Sa'īd. Prof. Sa'īd Aḥmad is a promising contemporary writer on Islamic history and culture. Besides being a product of Deoband, he has also had the benefit of modern higher education. His writing displays a remarkably critical attitude. Thus far, four of his works have been published. They are as follows :

- ✓ (a) Fahm-i-Qur'ān (Understanding the Qur'ān).
- ✓ (b) Islām mēn ghulāmī kī ḥaqīqat (The case of slavery in Islam).
- ✓ (c) Waḥī-i-Ilāhī (Revelation of God).

✓ ĀLAM, Mudīr. Mawlānā Mudīr 'Ālam has produced a work on *Hadith* literature, *Tarjaman al-Hadith*, 2 vols.

AMROHWĪ, Aḥmad Ḥasan (1850-1911). Mawlānā Amrohwī was a student of Muḥammad Qāsim Nānūtawī, and served as principal at Madrasah Qāsim al-'Ulūm, Muradabad, for a long time.

✓ ANṢĀRĪ, Ḥamīd al-. Mawlānā Anṣārī has produced one work on the system of government in Islam ; *Islam ka nizām-i-hakumat* (The system of government in Islam).

DEOBANDĪ, Mahtāb ‘Alī. Mawlānā Deobandī was a prominent religious leader and one of the founders of Deoband movement.

DEOBANDĪ, Muḥammad Shafī‘. Mawlānā Shafī‘ is at present known as “Muftī” Muḥammad Shafī‘ Deoband. He is a prominent religious leader in West Pakistan. The following are his works.

- (a) *Adab al-Nabī* (Etiquette taught by the Prophet).
- (b) *Khātām al-nabūwat* (The seal of prophethood), 3 vols.
- (c) *Thamarāt al-awrāq* (Fruits of leaves).

DEOBANDĪ, Sayyid Asghar Ḥusayn (1876-1944). The Sayyid was a brilliant product of Deoband and served as a teacher there. He produced quite a few books on different religious subjects.

- (a) *Fatāwā-i- Muḥammadī*.
- (b) *Ḥayāt-i-Khizir* (Life of Khwājā Khizir).
- (c) *al-Jawāb al-matīn* (The authentic answer).
- (d) *Mīrāṭh al-Muslimīn* (Muslim Law of Inheritance).
- (e) *Mufīd al-wārithīn* (Benefits of the heirs).
- (f) *Nek bībīyān* (Good wives).

DEOBANDĪ, Zu‘l-Fiqār ‘Alī (d. 1904). Mawlānā Zu‘l-Fiqār was a product of Delhi Arabic College, which flourished down to the time of the Sipāhī Mutiny of 1857-1858. He taught Arabic literature at Deoband,

DIHLAWĪ, Muftī Kifāyat Allāh (1876-1952). The Muftī was a brilliant product of Deoband and became a prominent religious leader. The following work by him is popular throughout India and Pakistan.

- ✓ (a) *Ta‘līm al-Islām* (Teachings of Islam), 4 vols. It is a catechism of Islamic doctrines and practices.

DIHLAWĪ, Sayyid Aḥmad (d. 1890), Served as a Principal of Deoband seminary from 1884 to 1890.

GANGŪHĪ, Rashīd Aḥmad (1828-1905). Mawlānā Gangūhī was a well-known teacher of Ḥadīṭh at Deoband.

GILĀNĪ, Manāẓir Aḥsan. Mawlānā Gīlānī is a contemporary writer of Islamic culture. He is a product of Deoband and served as professor and head of the Department of Religious studies at Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan. He has now retired to his native place in Bihar. His works are as follows .

- ✓ (a) al-Dīn al-Qayyim (The well-founded religion),
- ✓ (b) Hind wa chīn awr Islāmī mamālik, hazār-sāl mēn (India and China, and Islamic states during the last millennium.)
- ✓ (c) Imām Abū Ḥanīfah kī siyāsī zindegī (political life of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah)
- ✓ (d) Musalmānūn kā qadīm nizām-i-ta'lim wa tarbiyat (The ancient educational system of the Muslims).
- (e) al-Nabī al-Khātīm (The last prophet).

HAQQĀNĪ, 'Abd al Ḥaqq. Mawlānā Haqqānī has written three important works.

- ✓ (a) Tafsīr-i-Haqqānī (Commentary of the Qur'ān), 8 vols. This work is well known throughout India and Pakistan.
- ✓ (b) al-Bayān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān (Science of Quranic studies).
- ✓ (c) 'Aqā'id al-Islām (Creed of Islam).

HASAN, Maḥmūd (1853-1921). Mawlānā Maḥmūd Ḥasan was one of the first students of Deoband Seminary. He was the eldest son of Mawlānā Zu'l-Fiqār 'Alī Deobandī. In 1891 he became the Principal of Deoband Seminary. During World War I, he took prominent part in the *Khilafat* movement and was interned by the British government at Malta (see 385). He was also connected with various movements such as *Jami 'at-i-Ulama-i-Hind* (Association of the 'Ulamā' of India), *Jami'ah Milliyyah* (Muslim National University movement), *Jami'at al-Ansar* (Association of the helpers), and the like. He is popularly known as "*Shaykh al-Hind*." Mawlāna 'Ubayd Allāh Sindhī was his devoted disciple. For a con-

cise account of his social and political activities see 159, pp. 200-230. He has produced three works.

- (a) al-Abwāb wa'l-tarājīm (Commentary on the arrangement of chapters in *Hadith* collections).
- (b) *Īẓāḥ al-dawlah*. (A work of polemic).
- (c) *Tarjamah-i-Qur'ān majīd* (Translation of the Holy Qur'ān).
- (d) *Ḥikāyat-i-Shaykh al-Hind* (Narratives of *Shaykh al-Hind Mawlānā Maḥmūd Ḥasan*). This is apparently a collection of his sayings.

KASHMĪRĪ, Anwar *Shāh* (1875-1934). *Mawlānā Kashmīrī* had come to Deoband in 1891 for higher studies and became a teacher of *Hadith* literature (*Shaykh al-Ḥadīth*), in 1915. He earned a great reputation in Islamic theology. Iqbal was said to have been a great admirer of him. He wrote several books :—

- (a) *Fa'id al-Bārī* (Bounty of God), 4 vols. This is a commentary on *Hadith*.
- (b) *Ikfār al-mulhidīn* (Rejection of the atheists).
- (c) *Kashf al-asrār* (Unfolding of secret).
- (d) *Mushkilāt al-Qur'ān* (Difficult problems in the Quranic studies).

MADANĪ, Sayyid Ḥusayn Aḥmad. *Mawlānā Madanī* was born in 1879 at *Medinah* while his parents were in exile. He was educated at Deoband and been teaching *Hadith* at Deoband Seminary since 1928. He took prominent part in the national freedom movement of India. He is popularly known as "*Shaykh al-Islām*." He has produced quite a few works :

- ✓ (a) *Imān wa 'amal* (Faith and practice).
- ✓ (b) *Muttaḥidah-i-qawmiyat awr Islām* (Islam and national unity). This is a pamphlet in support of Indian nationalism.
- ✓ (c) *Naqsh-i-ḥayāt* (Autobiography).
- ✓ (d) *Makātib-i-Shaykh al-Islām* (Letters of *Shaykh al-Islām*). This is apparently a collection of his letters.

MIYĀN, Muḥammad (d. 1946). Mawlānā Muḥammad Miyān is better known as Maṣṣūr Anṣārī, was a co-worker of Shaykh al-Hind Mawlānā Maḥmūd Ḥasan. He died in Afghanistan while in exile. He is not to be confused with Sayyid Muḥammad Miyān.

MIYĀN, Sayyid Muḥammad. The Sayyid is a contemporary writer on the history of the Indian Muslims. He offers the following historical studies.

- (a) Ḥayāt-i-Shaykh al-Islām (Life of Shaykh al-Islām Sayyid Ḥusayn Aḥmad Madanī).
- (b) 'Ulamā'-i-Hind kā shāndār māqī (The glorious past of the Muslim religious leaders of India), 5 vols.

NĀNŪTAWĪ, Muḥammad Qāsim (1832-1879). Mawlānā Nānūtawī was a student of Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī, and one of the founders of Deoband movement. He played an important role in founding the three religious seminaries mentioned above. Madrasah Qasim al-Ulum of Muradabad was named after him. He was also a connecting link between the successors of Shāh Walī Allāh and the Deoband movement. A comprehensive biography has recently been published by the authorities of Deoband (see Manāẓir Aḥsan Gīlānī, above). He wrote the following tracts and monographs :

- (a) Āb-i-ḥayāt (Nectar of life).
- (b) Asrār-i-Qur'ān (Secrets of the Qur'ān).
- (c) Guftagu-i-mazhabī (Discourse on religion).
- (d) Ḥujjat al-Islām (Proof of Islam).
- (e) Qibla nāmah.
- (f) Taṣṣyat al-'aqa'id (Review of creed).

NĀNŪTAWĪ, Muḥammad Ya'qūb (1834-1884). Mawlānā Ya'qūb was a student of Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī and became principal and first teacher of Ḥadīth (*Shaykh al-Hadith*) of Deoband Seminary. He was also a connecting link between the successors of Shāh Walī Allāh and Deoband movement.

RAḤMĀN, Ḥāfiẓ al-. Mawlānā Ḥāfiẓ al-Raḥmān is a contemporary writer, and appears to have an inclination

to discuss the complicated problems of modern life. He has produced three works. :

(a) *Akḥlāq wa falsafah-i-akḥlāq* (Morality and philosophy of morality).

(b) *Qisas al-Qur'ān* (Anecdotes of the Qur'ān), 4 vols.

SAHARANPŪRĪ, *Khalīl Aḥmad* (d. 1927). Mawlānā Saharanpūrī produced a very important work in Arabic.

(a) *Badhl al-majhūd, sharḥ-i-Abī Dā'ūd* (Commentary on Abū Dā'ūd). 5 vols. This is a commentary on the famous *Hadith* collection of Abū Dā'ūd, namely *Sunan Abi Daud*. It is a great contribution to *Ḥadīth* studies.

SA'ĪD, Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alī. Mawlānā Sā'īd is a contemporary theologian. He has published the following work :

✓ (a) *Awrat awr Islām* (women and Islam),

SHĀH, Sayyid Aẓhar. The *Shāh* is a contemporary 'Ālim. He has published a biography of Mawlānā Anwar *Shāh Kashmīrī*

(a) *Ḥayāt-i-Anwar* (Life of Anwar).

SINDHĪ, 'Ubayd Allāh (1872-1944). Mawlānā Sindhī was an interesting personality. He was a pan-Islamist and travelled extensively in the Middle East. He was said to have been the right hand of *Shaykh al-Islām* Mawlānā Maḥmud Ḥasan with regard to his political activities. He took prominent part in the *Khilafat* movement of the nineteen-twenties and was a leader of *Jamī'at-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind* (Association of the Indian 'Ulama'). see 188.

THĀNAWĪ, Ashraf 'Alī (1863-1943). Mawlānā Thānawī was one of the best products of the Deoband Seminary and perhaps the most prolific writer of them all. He produced about 700 books, tracts and pamphlets. His translation of the Qur'ān into eloquent Urdu has been credited for the popularization of the Qur'ān in India and Pakistan. His *Bayan al-Qur'an*, *Bihisti zewar* and *Hayat al-muslimin* are very popular. Some of his works have been translated into different Indian languages. A selected list of his works is given below :

Quranic studies

- ✓ (a) Bayān al-Qur'ān (Exposition of the Qur'ān), 12 vols. This is a commentary on the Qur'ān with translation into plain and eloquent Urdu. It is undoubtedly one of the best works of its kind available in Urdu. The Bengali translation of the first volume has been published from Dacca in 1953.

Studies in Hadith Literature

- ✓ (b) I'āl al-sunan (Upholding the tradition of the prophet), 11 vols.

Studies in Law and Jurisprudence

- ✓ (c) Ḥayāt al-Muslimīn (Life of Muslims), 11 vols.
 (d) Imdād al-Fatawā, 2 vols.
 (e) al-Iqtisād wa'l-ijtihād (The objective and striving).
 ✓ (f) Taḥqīq-i-ta'lim-i-angrīzī (On English learning).
 (g) Ta'lim al-dīn (Religious teaching).

Studies in the Creed of Islam

- (h) Mas'alat-i-taqdīr (The problem of fate).
 ✓ (i) Sāins awr Islām (Science and Islam).

Studies in History

- ✓ (j) Qisas al-akābir (Famous narratives), 2 vols.

Studies in Ethics.

- (k) Adab al-mu'asharat (Etiquette towards neighbours).
 (l) Ḥuquq al-'ilm (Obligations of the learning).
 'UTHMĀNĪ, Faḍl al-Raḥmān (d. 1905). Mawlānā 'Uthmānī was a student of Delhi Arabic College, which flourished down to the Sipāhī Mutiny of 1857-1858. He was one of the founders of the Deoband movement.

‘UṬḤMĀNĪ, Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān (1860-1930). Mawlānā Ḥabīb is the author of two well-known works.

✓ (a) *Ishā‘at-i-Islām* (Propagation of Islam).

✓ (b) *Ta‘līm-i-Islām* (Teaching of Islam).

‘UṬḤMĀNĪ, Shabbir Aḥmad (1888-1949). Mawlānā ‘Uṭh-mānī was a brilliant product of Deoband Seminary. His commentary on *Sahih al-Muslim* in Arabic is widely known. In 1947 he migrated to West Pakistan and had been popularly known as “*Shaykh al-Islām*”. He produced the following works :

Quranic Studies

(a) *I‘jāz al-Qur‘ān* (Niceties of the Qur‘ān).

(b) *Tafsīr-i-Khurshī* (Commentary on the Qur‘ān).

Studies in Hadith Literature

(c) *Fath‘ālam Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Muslim* (Commentary on the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Muslim), 3 vols. in Arabic. This is a commentary on the famous Ḥadīth collection by Imām Muslim, namely *Sahih al-Muslim*.

‘UṬḤMĀNĪ, J‘afar Aḥmad. Mawlānā J‘afar is a prominent contemporary ‘ālim who taught Ḥadīth at the University of Dacca, East Pakistan. He has published one work on sufism.

(a) *al-Durr al-manṣūr* (The gem of the helped one).

TAYYIB, Muḥammad. (1898-). Mawlānā Tayyib is the present principal (*Muhtamim*) of Deoband seminary. He is a grandson of Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāsim Nānūtawī. He has written several books. :

(a) *Fiṭrī ḥakūmat* (The natural government).

✓ (b) *Islām awr firqadāriyat* (Islām and factionalism).

✓ (c) *Islāmī āzādī kā mukammal progrām* (A comprehensive program of Islamic freedom).

(d) *Mas‘alat-i-taqdīr* (the problem of fate).

(e) *al-Tashbīḥ fi‘l-Islām* (Allegory in Islam).

✓ (f) *Uṣūl-i-da‘wat-i-Islām* (the principles of invitation to Islam).

CHAPTER II

MODERNISM IN INDIAN ISLAM

The beginning of modernism in Indian Islam was the aftermath of the failures of the sipāhī Mutiny of 1857-1858. Among the protagonist of modernism Nawab ‘Abd al-Latif and Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān rose to great eminence during the second half of the nineteenth century. They fought their way against traditional orthodoxy and fostered educational and material advancement of the Muslim community.

Nawab ‘Abd al-Laṭīf was born at Farīdpur but later on settled at Calcutta. He was well-versed in English literature (see 394, p. 189). In 1863 he founded the Mohammedan Literary Society of Calcutta and “Endeavoured to bring his co-religionists more into harmony with the English innovations and to convince them of the necessity of acquiring European learning” (ibid). Also, he exerted “himself in founding Arabic Colleges, amongst others those of Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi and in collecting donations by means of which two-thirds of the school fees of the Mohammadan scholars could be covered” (ibid). He died in 1893, leaving the Literary Society in a flourishing condition. In the nineteen-twenties the Society was converted into the Muslim Institute which published a journal called “Muslim Review” for a considerable time.

The necessity of learning the English language was appreciated to a considerable extent by the Bengālī Muslims as a result of their tough competition with the English knowing Hindus of Bengal. The liberal preachings of Mawlawī Karāmat ‘Alī also had the effect of removing many prejudices from Muslim society. The Nawab, therefore, did not encounter the strong opposition like that of his contemporary Sir Sayyid. His advice was well received, and soon English schools sprang up in towns and villages of Bengal-

Among the closest associates of the Nawab were Sayyid Amīr ‘Alī and Mawlawī Karāmat ‘Alī. Sayyid Amīr ‘Alī was born in 1849 at Hughly, West Bengal. In 1879 he founded the central National Muhammedan Association. In 1881 he was nominated to the Bengal Legislative Council, and later to the Imperial Council. At the beginning of the twentieth century he rose to be a privy Councillor. He settled in London and organized the London Branch of All Indian Muslim League. He died in 1929.

Karāmat ‘Alī (d. 1873) was a student of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. He met both Sayyid Aḥmad Shāhīd (*circa* 1820-1824), and Shari‘at Allāh (*circa* 1836-1837), at Calcutta. He became desciple of Sayyid Aḥmad Shāhīd. He differed with Shari‘at Allāh on several points and wrote tracts against the *Fara’idi*. Also he detested radical Wahhabism and wrote polemics in refutation of its doctrines. In fine he stood for a *modus vivendi* between the radical doctrines of *Fara’idi*, *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah*, and Wahhabism on the one hand, and un-Islamic traditional customs on the other. Furthermore, he helped bring about a healthy rapprochement between the conservative and modernist views of Bengali Muslims by holding that India was an abode of Islam (*dar al-Islam*), and that *jihād* against the British government was unlawful (see 149, pp. 120 and 215). “His work has been carried on,” says Titus, “by his son Moulvī Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad, who died in 1898, and by his nephew, Muḥammad Muḥsin; and there are certain districts of the province (Bengal), where his influence is still a living force” (see 172, p. 187).

Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1817-1898) was the chief architect of Muslim modernism in India. “For four decades between 1858 and 1898, Sir Sayyid was the pivot round whom the entire Muslim politics moved. As a great thinker and reformer, he shaped the destiny of Muslims in the sub-continent and galvanized a frustrated mass of people into a nation with a future” (see 751, p. 21). In 1857 he founded a Persian School for historical research at Muradabad. In 1863 he organized the Ghazipur Scientific Society with the object of producing Urdu translations of European scientific works. The Society was later trans-

ferred to Aligarh. In 1864 he founded a high school at Ghazipur with provision for English courses. From 1869 to 1870 he toured Great Britain. In 1873 he established a high school at Aligarh which was raised to Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental (M. A. O.) College in 1875, with the object of combining religious education with modern scientific studies. In 1920 it became a first grade university and has since been known as the Muslim University, Aligarh.

In order to encourage education among Muslims, he organized around 1872 a "Conference for the better diffusion and advancement of learning among Muhammadans of India" and created a fund to help Muslim scholars in research work. Haunted by the terrors of the Sipāhī Mutiny, he organized the British Indian Association to keep Muslims within reasonable bounds in practical politics. Furthermore, in order to defend the rights and privileges of Muslims, he founded the Muslim Defence Association and pleaded to the government for the release of those innocent persons who were kept under detention on suspicion of disloyalty.

The Aligarh movement led by Sir Sayyid soon became the centre of intellectual activity among Indian Muslims. It developed a rationalistic outlook, which inspired support from a large section of the Muslim community. From the insistence of Sir Sayyid that "the proof of truth of Islam was its 'conformity to nature', his school gained the name of *nechari* (naturalist), and under that name earned the violent denunciation of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, whose work, published as the *Refutation of the Materialists*, was, in fact, directed primarily against it" (see 509 p. 58). It also evoked bitter opposition from a limited circle of the traditional orthodoxy (159, p. 44 ff). "In spite of these bitter attacks, however", says H. A. R. Gibb, "echoed by the conservative ulama, the Aligarh School flourished and formed the root from which most of the later developments of Indian modernism stem, directly or indirectly." (See 509, p. 58)

Among the supporters of the Aligarh School and modernism were Muḥsin al-Mulk Nawab Maḥdī 'Alī Khān, Wiqār al-Mulk Nawab Musṭāq Ḥusayn, Khwāja Aṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī, Sayyid Amīr

‘Alī, Mawlawī Chirāgh ‘Alī, Ḥafīz Nazīr Aḥmad, Zakā Allāh and Salāḥ al-Dīn Khudā Bakhsh.

Among the opponents of the Aligarh movement Akbar Ḥusayn Akbar Ilāḥābādī, a contemporary of Sir Sayyid, was most prominent. He left no stone unturned to harass Sir Sayyid and the Aligarh movement, which he interpreted as a British machination for tightening the bond of slavery over Indian Muslims. The Deoband group also entertained similar ideas about the movement (see 159., p. 44, ff.), yet they never came in direct conflict with it. Shams al-‘Ulamā’ Shiblī Nu‘mānī was a great scholar, poet and philosopher, who at first co-operated with Sir Sayyid and lectured on Persian literature at the M. A. O. College. During his later days he became a bitter opponent of the Aligarh movement and joined the seminary of Nadwat al-‘Ulamā’. Among Sir Sayyid’s contemporaries, Imdād ‘Alī and ‘Alī Bakhsh have been cited by Ikrām as bitter enemies of the Aligarh movement (see 151, p. 79 ff.).

Bibliography in this chapter follows the following orders :—

A. Muslim Modernism in Bengal :

1. Nawab ‘Abd al-Laṭīf
2. Sayyid Amīr ‘Alī
3. Mawlawī Karāmat ‘Alī
4. Salāḥ al-Dīn Khudā Bakhsh

B. Aligarh movement :

1. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān
2. Muḥsin al-Mulk Nawab Maḥdī ‘Alī Khān
3. Wiqār al-Mulk Nawab Mushtāq Ḥusayn
4. Khawāja Aḥfāz Ḥusayn Ḥālī
5. Mawlawī Chirāgh ‘Alī
6. Ḥafīz Nazīr Aḥmad
7. Zakā Allāh

C. Opposition to Aligarh movement :

1. Akbar Ḥusayn Akbar Ilāḥābādī
2. Shams al-‘Ulamā’ Shiblī Nu‘mānī

D. Other works relevant to modernism and Aligarh movement

A. Muslim Modernism in Bengal.

1. *Nawab Abd al-Latif* (1828-1893). Although he is regarded as the father of Muslim modernism in Bengal, very little has so far been written about him. The most valuable materials about his life and career are available in two volumes of rare books, which are collection of materials rather than systematic study. They are preserved in the Dacca Museum, and listed under the head of Nawab Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadur. Besides, scattered references are found here and there.
 392. ABD AL-LATIF, Nawab. A short account of my public life. Calcutta, 1885. It is a compendium of 14 pamphlets including an autobiographical sketch of the Nawab. 246 pp.
 393. ANONYMOUS. Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif, C. I. E. Calcutta, circa., 1915. It is a memorial volume, in which various types of data have been collected. 291 pp.
 394. VAMBERY, Arminius. Western culture in Eastern lands : a comparison of the methods adopted by England and Russia in the Middle East. London, John Murray 1906. 410 pp. 189 ff. offers a concise account of the Nawāb's activities.
- See also the following :
- 137, pp. 104 and 123. Gives an account of 'Abd al-Latīf's appointment as agent of Governor-General of India to the Princely State of Bhopal. A nice portrait is found on p. 104.
- 149, Mention of the Nawāb's activities has been made on several pages with references to one of his speeches. (London. 1871), p. 131.
2. *Sayyid Amir 'Ali* (1849-1929). A concise biographical sketch of Sayyid Amīr 'Alī is found in 160, pp. 145-76. A critical appraisal of his works is attempted in 168 (see index). Amir Ali's wife, Isabella Ida konstan is said to have published *Memoirs of Amir 'Ali* from London. See also 458.

Works of Sayyid Amir 'Ali

395. A critical examination of the life and teachings of Mohammad. Edinburgh, William and Norgate, 1873. 346 pp. This is probably this author's earliest work about Islam. It is scholarly and the chapter on polygamy is especially interesting,
396. A short history of the Saracens ; being a concise account of the rise and decline of the Saracenic power, and of the economic, social and intellectual development of the Arab nation from the earliest time to the destruction of Baghdad and expulsion of the Moors from Spain. London and New York, Macmillan, 1900. 640 pp.
397. Christianity from Islamic standpoint. *Hibbert Journal*, London, vol. IV, Jan. 1906, pp. 24-59.
398. Islam. London, Constables, 1906. 79 pp. This is an "one shilling volume" of "Religions : ancient and modern series".
399. Mohammedan Law, compiled from authorities in the original Arabic. Tagore law Lecture 1884, 2 vols. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1894-1904 ; 5th ed. 1929.
400. Real status of women in Islam. *Nineteenth century* (New York and London), Sept. 1891, pp. 387-99.
401. The Law of evidence applicable to British India by Moulvi Syed Amcer Ali and John George Woodroffe. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., circa 1898. 1092 pp.
402. The personal Law of the Mohammedans (according to all schools, together with a comparative sketch of the law of inheritance among the Sunnis and the Shiahhs. London, W. R. Allen 1880. 430 pp.
403. The spirit of Islam ; or the life and teachings of Mohammed. Calcutta, S. R. Lahiri and Co. 1902. 440 pp. The spirit of Islam, a history of the evolution and ideals of Islam, with a life of the Prophet. London, Christophers, 1922. 515 pp. London, Macmillan, 1951. (1st ed. 1889). xxi+640 pp. This is a monumental

and perhaps one of the most quoted works in Islamic history and culture.

Amir Ali also wrote a pamphlet called "*Jihad*"; *A commentary on the Bengal tenancy act, and civil procedure in British India*. He edited and published an Urdu translation of the famous *Hanafi* Law book, *Hidaya* in 4 vols. The work was initially prepared by a group of *Hanafi* 'ulama'. The translation is named '*Ayn al-hidaya*, ; and is available at the Library of Dacca University, East Pakistan.

3. *Mawlawi Karamat 'Ali* (1800-1873). His life and career have not been critically studied. He, however, left us quite a number of books and pamphlets in which extensive information is available.

404. 'ALĪ, A. Yusuf, "Karāmāt Alī." E. I., Vol. II, pp. 752-54.

405. 'ALĪ, Mawlawī Karāmāt. Quwwat al-īmān. Calcutta. Matba'-'i-Qādirī, 1253 A. H., 344 pp., in Urdu. Exposition of the author's views with regard to the four established schools of Law or *madhhab*.

406. 'ALĪ, Mawlawī Karāmāt. Mukāshifāt-i-Raḥmat. Cownpore, Matba'-'i-Majīdī, n. d., 32 pp. Refutation of sinful innovations or *bid'at*.

407. 'ALĪ, Mawlawī Karāmāt. Risālah-i-fayḍ al-'ām (being a gist of his bigger work *Nurun 'ala nur*). Published for the second time in the *Dhakhirah-i-Karamat*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1344 A. H., pp. 33-62. It deals with mystic path.

408. 'ALĪ, Mawlawī Karamāt. Tazkiyat al-"Aqā'id. Published for the second time in *Dhakhirah-i-Karamat*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1344 A. H., pp. 63-84. His criticism of the *Fara'idi* movement and *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* movement.

409. 'ALĪ, Mawlawī Karāmāt. Ḥujjat-i-qāṭi', Published in *Dhakhirah-i-Karamat*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1344 A. H., pp. 85-124. Criticism of the *Fara'idi* movement.

410. 'ALĪ, Mawlawī Karāmāt. Nūr al-Hudā. Published in *Dhakhirah-i-Karamat*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1344 A. H., pp. 125-53. Deals with spiritual realities.

411. 'ALI, Mawlawī Karāmat. Kitāb al-Istiqāmat. Published in *Dhakhirah-i-Karamat*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1344 A. H., pp. 154-200. The author's views on *Ijtihad*.
412. 'ALI, Mawlawī Karāmat. al-Qawl al-Thābit. Published in *Dhakhirah-i-Karamat*, vol. II, Calcutta, 1348 A. H., pp. 1-107. Description of the socio-religious condition of the Muslims in Bengal.
413. 'ALI, Mawlawī Karāmat. "Lecture". Abstract of Proceedings of the Mohamedan Literary Society of Calcutta held on the 23rd November, 1870. Calcutta, 1871. Collaboration of Mawlawī Karāmat 'Alī with the leader of Muslim modernism in Bengal, Nawab 'Abd al-Latīf, in support of the latter's view that India under the British rule was *Dar al-Islam* and hence war against the Christian rulers was unlawful in accordance with Muslim law.
4. *Salah al-Din Khuda Bakhsh* (1877-1931). Şalāḥ al-Dīn Khudā Bakhsh was an able successor of Amīr 'Alī and Chirāgh 'Alī. He translated quite a few important works on Islamic history from German into English. He edited the *Muslim Review*, a Journal published by the Muslim Institute of Calcutta. For an appreciation of his scholarship, see 168.

Works of Salah al-Din Khuda Bakhsh

414. Caliphate : studies in social and political conditions ; literary and scientific activities ; its decline and fall. (London, Trubner, 1st ed., 1927) ; Lahore, Orientalia, 1954. 106.
- ✓ 415. Contribution to the history of Islamic civilisation, 2 vols. Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1929-1930.
- ✓ 416. Essays Indian and Islamic. London, 1912. 295 pp. This work adequately reflects the author's modernist attitude.
417. Islam and the modern world. *Moslem world*, vol XII, Jan. 1921. pp. 62-69. The author maintains that Islam

is capable of adaptation to changing circumstances as proved by its history.

418. Islam and the modern world. *Muslim review* (Calcutta. vol. II no. 3, Jan-Mar. 1928. pp. 9-15. The author contends that Europe is today paying back the debt which it owed to Islam in the Middle Ages.
419. Politics in Islam by Von Kremer ; ed. and trans. into English by S. Khuda Bukhsh. Lahore, Ashraf, 2nd ed. 1948. 156 pp.
420. The Kharijites under the first Umayyads by Rudolf Ernst Brunow ; trans. into English by S. Khuda Bakhsh. Calcutta, Orientalia, circa 1927. 14+19 pp. The translation was first published in the *Muslim review* (Calcutta). vol. I, no. 3, Jan-Mar. 1927, pp. 69-82 ; and vol. I, no. 4, Apr-Jun, 1927, pp. 17-35.
421. The Arab civilization by Joseph Hell ; trans. into English by S. Khuda Bukhsh. Lahore, Ashraf, 1943.
422. The awakening of Islam. *Muslim review* (Calcutta), vol. III no. 3, Jan-Mar. 1929, pp. 1-9. In this article the author vindicates the sweeping reforms of Kamal Ata-Turk in modern Turkey.

B. Aligarh Movement

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898)

Books and Articles dealing with the Life and works of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

423. ALBIRUNI, A. H. Makers of Pakistan and modern India, Lahore, Ashraf, 1950. "Syed Ahmad Khan", pp. 3-60.
424. BALJON (Jr.) J. N. S. The reforms and religious ideals of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1949. 101 pp. Bibliog. pp. 99-101. This is a well written work analysing the political, social and religious activities of Sir Sayyid on the one hand, and his writings on various subjects on the other.
- * 425. GRAHAM, G. F. I. The life and work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Edinburgh and London, William Blackwood

and Sons, 1885. 412 pp. This is the earliest biography of Sir Sayyid. The author was one of his intimate friends and knew the man and his temperament remarkably well. It also includes partial translations of some of the writings of Sir Sayyid, including *Loyal Mohammedans of India*. Furthermore, it gives an account of the Aligarh movement and a description of the buildings of Muslim Anglo-Oriental (M. A. O.), College, Aligarh.

426. HĀLĪ, Khwāja Aṭāf Ḥusayn. Ḥayāt-i-jāwid (An immortal life), 2 vols. Agra, 2nd ed. 1903. 252+452 pp., in Urdu. This is a detailed account of the life of Sir Sayyid and of the Aligarh movement. It remains unrivalled down to the present day,
427. KENNEDY, J. Personal reminiscences of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. *Asiatic quarterly review*. (London), Jul-Oct. 1898, pp. 145-51.
428. SHEHWANI, Haroon Khan. Studies in Muslim political thought and administration. Lahore, Ashraf, 1st ed. 1942; 2nd ed., 1945. 273 pp. "Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan" on pp. 213-46.

See also the following :

143, vol. I, p, 460 ff.

160, pp. 1-37.

167. This is mainly an analysis of Sir Sayyid's influence on the economic and political development of modern Muslim India.

Works of Sir Sayyid Ahman Khan

Works on Religious subjects

429. Aḥkām-i-ta'āmei-ahl-i-kitāb (Rules of Islam concerning the food of the people of the Book) Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar, n. d., 66 pp. in Urdu. This work was an attempt to reconcile Indian Muslim and their Christian rulers by proving conclusively that it was lawful for Muslims to dine with Christians and Jews.

430. *al-Du‘ā wa’l-iftijābat* (prayer and its acceptance). Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar, circa. 1914. In this small tract, written in Urdu, the rationalist Sir Sayyid contends against the popular belief that there is no intrinsic relation between prayer to God and its acceptance. He holds that prayer is meant for strengthening the mind through moral and spiritual inspiration.
431. *Essays on the life of Muhammad*. This was written in English about the year 1870, while Sir Sayyid was touring England. An amplified Urdu edition : *Khutbāt-i-Aḥmadiyah*. Amritsar, 1315 A. H. (1897 A. D.). 752 pp.
432. *Essays on the question whether Islam has been beneficial or injurious to human society in general., and to the Mosaic and Christian dispensation in particular*. 1st ed. 1870 ; Lahore, Orientalia (Reprint). 1954. 41 pp. This is an appreciation of the generous efforts of European scholars like Davenport (p. 3) ; and Thomas Carlyle (p. 7), to remove misunderstanding about Islam ; and a refutation of some hostile remarks made by William Muir about Islam (p. 7 ff.).
433. *Faḍā’il al-Islām min rasā’il Ḥujjat al-islām ya’nī makātabāt-i-Ḥaḍrat Imām al-Ḡhazālī*.
434. *Izālat al-ghayh ‘an Dhī’l-Qaranayn* (Removal of the cloud from the Quranic legend of Alexander the Great). Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar, circa 1914. 32 pp., in Urdu.
435. *Al-Jinn wa’l-jān ‘alā mā-fi’l-Qur’ān* (Demonology of the Qur’ān). Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar. circa 1914. 32 pp., in Urdu.
436. *Khalq al-insān ‘alā mā-fi’l-Qur’ān* (Quranic legend of the creation of man). Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar, circa 1914. 16 pp., in Urdu.
437. *Lekchar-i-Islām* (Lecture on Islam). Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar, circa 1914. 20 pp., in Urdu. The author contends that “Islam is completely in conformity with Nature” (p. 9).

438. Tafsīr-i-Qur'ān (Commentary on the Quran), 6 vols., in Urdu. Vol. I : *Tafsir-i-Ahmediyah : tafsir al-Qur'an, wa huwa al-huda wa'l-furqan*. Lahore, Maṭba'-'i-Gulzār Mohāmmadī, 1891. 324 pp. vols II-VI : *Tafsir al-Qur'an*. Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar, n. d. 169-228+152+134+148 pp.
439. Tarqīm fī qissat-i-Aṣḥāb al-kahf wa'l-raqīm (Brochure on the story of Seven Sleepers). Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar, circa 1914. 64 pp., in Urdu.
440. The Mahomedan commentary on the Holy Bible : tabyīn al-kalām fī tafsīr al-Tawrāt wa'l-Injīl 'alā millat al-Islām, 2 parts. Ghazeeopore, 1862. The name of the author is given as Syud Ahmad. The commentary is in Urdu and English in parallel columns. For a critical remark about the work see Kenneth Cragg, "Each others face, some thoughts on Muslim-Christian colloquy today." *Muslim World*, vol, XIV, Apr. 1955, pp. 172-82. For the rest of Sir Sayyid's works on the subject, see 424, pp. 99-100.

Political and Historical works of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

441. Maqālāt-i-Sir Sayyid (Sayings of Sir Sayyid). Collected and ed. by Abd Allah Khan Kheshgī from *Tahzib al-Akhlaq*). Aligarh, 1952. 238 pp., in Urdu.
442. Present state of Indian politics : speeches and letters. Allahabad, pioneer Press, 1888.
443. (a) Risālat-i-Khayr Khwāhā musalmān (in Urdu).
(b) An account of the loyal Mohammedans of India By Syud Ahmad Khan. Meerut, 1860. See extract in 425, pp. 58-71. Trans. into English by Ahmad Shah.
444. Sayyid Ahmad Khān kā safar nāmāh-i-Panjāb. (Sayyid Ahmad Khān's tour of the Punjab). Collected and ed. by Sayyid Iqbal Ali. Aligarh, Aligarh Institute Press, 1884. 281 pp. This is a collection

of Sir Sayyid's speeches and interviews depicting adequately the type of modernism advocated by him.

445. *Tahzīb al-akhḥlāq* (Reformation of morals) 4 vols. Collected and ed. by Fazl-ud-Din Kakkāzai. Vol. II : Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar, circa 1914 572pp., in Urdu, A collection of articles published by Sir Sayyid in the *Tahzīb al-akhḥlāq* from 1870 to 1876. *Tahzīb al-akhḥlāq* was a journal published by Sir Sayyid from Aligarh, in Urdu.
446. Translation of the report of the members of the Select Committee for the better diffusion and advancement of leading among Muhammedans of India. Benares, Medical Hall Press, 1872. 73+196+61 pp. The Committee of which Sir Sayyid was the secretary, examined 22 essays submitted by Muslim scholars from all over India. Three prizes were distributed on the results. The work contains an English and Urdu report along with an abstract of the 22 essays.
2. *Muhsin al-Mulk Nawab Mahdi 'Ali Khan* (1837-1907) Muhsin al-Mulk succeeded Sir Sayyid in the leadership of the Muslim community and Aligarh movement.

Bibliography of Books dealing with the activities of Muhsin al-Mulk

447. 'ALI (Khān Bahādur), Nawab Muhsin al-Mulk Mawlawī Sayyid Mahdī. Speech (in Urdu). Aligarh, circa. 1898. 60 pp. Speech of condolence on the death of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, delivered at Lahore on June 25, 1898.
448. 'ALI (Khān Sahib Bahādur Munīr Nawāz Jang), Nawāb Muhsin al-Dawlah Muhsin al-Mulk Sayyid Mahdī. Majmū'ah speeches (Collection or Speeches). Collected and ed. by Fazl-ud-Din kakkāzai. Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar, 1904. 521 pp. A Collection of 84 speeches

of Muḥsin al-Mulk, in Urdu dealing with the Aligarh movement.

449. 'ALĪ KhĀN, Muḥsin al-Mulk Mahdī 'Alī. *Tahzīb al-akḥlāq* vol. 1. A collection of articles published by Muḥsin al-Mulk from 1870. 448 pp. in Urdu (see 445).
450. ZUBAYRĪ, Muḥammad Amīn. *Tazkirah-i-Muḥsin : ya'nī mukhtaṣar ḥālāt-i-Nawāb Muḥsin al-Dawlah Muḥsin al-Mulk Mawlawī Sayyid Mahdī 'Alī Khān Bahādur Munīr Nawāz Jang* (A concise biography of Muḥsin-al-Mulk). Delhi, Jāmī' Barqī Press, 1935, 7+18 pp., in Urdu.

See also the following :

151, pp. 103-119.

160, pp. 71-96.

423, pp. 83-97.

3. *Wiqar al-Mulk Nawab Mushtaq Husayn* (1841-1917).
Wiqār al-Mulk succeeded Muḥsin al-Mulk in the leadership of Muslim community and the Aligarh movement. See 151, pp. 127-48 ; 423, pp. 101-16 ; and 533.
4. *Khwaja Altaf Husayn Hali*. Mawlānā Ḥālī was the great poet and social philosopher of the Aligarh movement. His critical epic, *Musaaddas-i-Ḥālī : mad wa jazar-i-Islām* (Sestet of Ḥālī : tide and ebb of Islam), marked the beginning of self-criticism of his history and society among Indian Muslims and exerted tremendous influence on the Muslims of India in bringing them closer to modernism and the Aligarh movement (see 525).

Bibliography of Books dealing with the activities of Ḥālī

451. ILĀHĪ, Mahbub. *Ḥālī : Shi'r wa Shā'irī ; ya'nī maqaddamah-i-dīwān-i-Ḥālī* (Ḥālī : poetry and poesy : that is introduction to *Diwan-i-Hali*). Lahore, Taj Book Depot, n. d. 267 pp. in Urdu. See 454.

452. JAMĪL, Muḥammad Ṭāhir. Ḥālī's place in Urdu poetry. *Muslim review* (Calcutta, vol. III, no. I. Jul-Sept. 1928. pp. 54+61.
453. PĀNĪPATHĪ, Mahzūn Anṣārī. Ḥayāt-i-Ḥālī (life of Ḥālī). Circa. 1953. 31 pp., in Urdu.
See also 518 ; and E. I., vol. II, p. 239 ; "Hali, Altaf Hussain".

Works of Hali

- ✓ 454. Dīwān-i-Ḥālī. Delhi, Kutub Khānah-i-'Ilm wa Adab, 1945. 224 pp., in Urdu. See also 450.
- ✓ 455. Makātib-i-Ḥālī (Letters of Ḥālī). Collected and ed. by Shaykh Muḥammad Ismā'īl Pānīpathī. Lahore, 1950. 164 pp., in Urdu.
- ✓ 456. Maqālāt-i- Ḥālī (Opinions of Ḥālī), 2 parts. Delhi, Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdu, 1936. Part I ; (1943). A collection of Ḥālī's articles published in different newspapers, journals and elsewhere. 310 pp. Part II : (1936), a collection of speeches and book reviews.
- ✓ 457. Tahzīb al-akhḫāq (see 444), vol IV. 128 pp. Contains a number of Ḥālī's articles previously published in Tahzīb al-akhḫāq.

See also 525.

There are quite a few other works by Ḥālī which were not available while compiling this bibliography in Canada.

5. *Mawlawi Chiragh 'Alī*. The philosophy of the Aligarh movement and modernism found most eloquent expression in the writings of Chirāgh 'Alī and Sayyid Amīr 'Alī. See the following :

151, pp. 162-189 : "Jadīd 'ilm al-kalām" (Neo-Kalām or the new philosophy of religion).

168 (see index).

458. SELL., Edward. *New Islam*. (*Contemporary rveiew* (London). vol LXIV, Aug. 1893. pp. 282-93. An appreciation of Amīr 'Alī and Chirāgh 'Alī, and an attempt to appraise their intellectual efforts.

Works of Chiragh 'Ali

459. A critical exposition of the popular jihad, showing that all the wars of Muhammad were defensive ; and that aggressive war, or compulsory conversion, is not allowed in the Qur'ān ; with appendices proving that the word jihad does not exegetically mean warfare ; and that slavery is not sanctioned by the Prophet of Islam. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink and Co., 1885. civ+227+249 pp.
460. Tahzīb al-akḥlāq, vol. III. 184 pp., in Urdu. A collection of articles published by Chirāgh 'Alī in Tahzīb al-akḥlāq. (See 445).

Supplement to the Bibliography of the works of Chiragh Ali

The following works have not been personally examined but they are known to exist from reliable references.

461. A'ẓam al-kalām fī irtiqā al-Islām (Sound arguments in defence of Islam). This Urdu version appears to be a translation from the original English (cited in 151, p. 175).
462. Hyderabad (Deccan) under Sir Salar Jung. This work is on the administration of the Nizamat of Hyderabad, Deccan. Mawlawī Chirāgh 'Alī was in the civil service of Hyderabad.
463. Rasā' il-i-Chirāgh 'Ali (Epistles of Chirāgh 'Alī). A collection of pamphlets written by Chirāgh 'Ali, in Urdu. (cited in 151, p. 175).
- ✓ 464. Reforms under Moslem rule. Discusses the nineteenth century reform movements in Turkey (cited in 45, p. 285 ; and 151. p. 177.

6. *Hafiz Nazir Ahmad* (1836-1912). Ḥāfiẓ Nazīr Ahmad was a contemporary of Sir Sayyid. It is difficult to classify him either among the supporters or the opponents of the Aligarh movement. On the one hand, he delivered numerous lectures in support of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, at the request of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān. On the other hand, he wrote a novel, called "Ibn al-waqt" (the opportunist), in which he apparently poses himself to be the defender of Islam against the "opportunism" or "loyalism" of Sir Sayyid. Nevertheless, he was a close friend of Sir Sayyid and favoured modernization of Muslim society. He even went a step ahead of Sir Sayyid in advocating female education. He wrote novels like *Mir'at al-'arus* (The ideal girl), with the object of educating the female section of the Muslim community. What appears to be most likely is that he had great liking for modernism and M. A. O. College, while he also developed a strong dislike for Sir Sayyid's "loyalism". Between these two trends, he might have thought it prudent to remain non-committal but helpful to modernism.

Among other brilliant contributions, Nazīr Ahmad is credited with presenting a systematic and idiomatic Urdu translation of the Qur'ān.

Bibliography on Nazir Ahmad

- ✓ 465. BILGRĀMĪ (al-Nārharwī), Iftikhār 'Ālam. Ḥayāt-i-Nazīr (life of Nazīr). Delhi, 1912. 660 pp., in Urdu. A detailed biography of Nazir Ahmad.
See also 520.

Works Hafiz Nazir Ahmad

- ✓ 466. al-Huqūq wa'l-farā'id (Rights and obligations). 3 vols. Delhi, circa. 1924. 226+892+282 pp., in Urdu. This is a comprehensive work about rights and

obligations in Islam, written on the model of al-Ghazālī's *Ihya'ulum al-din*. It may be regarded as the author's interpretation of Islam.

467. *Lekchārūn kā majmū'ah* (A collection of lectures), 2 vols. Collected and ed. by Bashir al-Dīn. Agra and Delhi, n. d. Urdu. A collection of Nazīr's speeches delivered in connection with the Aligarh movement from 1888 to 1898.
 468. The bride's mirror or *Mir'at ul-arus*. (Urdu) ed. in Roman characters by G. E. Ward. London, Oxford University Press, 1899.
 469. *Ummahāt al-ummah* (Mothers of the community). Delhi, 1935. 188 pp., in Urdu. This is about the wives of the Prophet. The author contends that the marriages of the Prophet (except the first one), occurred in his old age, and were not inspired by sensuous desire.
7. *Zaka Allah*. *Zakā Allāh* of Delhi, a contemporary of Sir Sayyid was a genius in mathematics. He was associated with the old Delhi College, which flourished until the *Sipāhī* Mutiny of 1857-1858. Later on he became a follower of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and helped the progress of the Aligarh movement.

Bibliography on *Zaka Allah*

- x 470. ANDREWS, C. F. *Zakā Ullāh* of Delhi: with an introductory memoirs by the late Moulavi Nazīr Aḥmad. Cambridge, England, W. Heffers and Sons, 1929, xxx+159 pp.

C. Opposition to the Aligarh Movement

1. *Sayyid Akbar Husayn Akbar Ilahabadi*. Akbar Ḥusayn was a great poet. He is popularly known as Akbar

Ilāhābādī. He edited a somewhat comic Journal (*Oudh Panch*) in Urdu, and wrote untiringly against Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and the Aligarh movement. "He tells his country", says Abdul Qāder "that they may take all that is good and useful for them from the civilization of the West, provided they do not do so at the expense of their own" (see 520 p. 118). There is said to be a proverb, "If there were no Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and no *Oudh Panch*, Akbar Ḥusayn would have been no poet."

Bibliography on Akbar Ilahabadi

471. AḤMAD KhĀN, Chowdhuri Nazīr. Akbar of Ilāhābād. *Pakistan review* (Karachi, Nov. 1954).
472. ILAHABADI, Ṭalib, ed. Akbar Ilāhābādī. Ilāhābād, Maṭha'-i-Anwar Ahmādī (publication), n. d. 482 pp., in Urdu. An appreciation of Akbar Ilāhābādī.
See also 519.

Works of Akbar ILAHABADI

473. Intikhāb-i-kalām-i-Akbar (Selection from Akbar's poems and humour) ed. by 'Abd Allāh Kāmil. 101 pp., in Urdu.
474. Kulliyāt-i-Akbar Ilāhābādī (A collection of Akbar's Poems), 3 vols. Karachi, Bazm-i-Akbar, 1951-52. vol. I, 440 pp. ; and vols. II and III, 473 pp.

2. Shams al-'Ulama' Shibli Nu'mani (1857-circa 1914).

Bibliography on Shibli Nu'mani

475. A'ZAMĪ, Abd al-Laṭīf, Mawlānā Shiblī kā martabah Urdu adab mēn (The place of Shibli in Urdu literature). Delhi, Shibli Academy, 1945. 207 pp. in Urdu.
476. BHAJIWALLA, Rustom Pestonji. Moulānā Shiblī and 'Umar Khayyām, being a biographical sketch of the famous Oriental scholar, the late Shams-ul-'Ulamā' Shiblī No'mānī, and a faithful translation of his

review of 'Umar Khayyām's poems and philosophy, from his well-known Urdu work "Shi'r-ul-'ajom," vol. I, pp. 225-261. Surat, Mission Press, 1932. xliii+112 pp. pp. 19-50 contain a concise and good bibliographical sketch of Shibli, with bibliographical sketch of his works.

477. IKRĀM, Shaykh Muḥammad. Shibli Nāmah : ik fankār ki dāstān-i-hayāt. Bombay, Taj Office, n. d. 275 pp., in Urdu. A biography of Shibli. The author appears to be prejudiced against Shibli. Yet, the work is informative.
478. NADAWĪ, Sayyid Sulaymān. Hayāt-i-Shibli : sawāniḥ-i-hayāt awr 'ilmī wa 'amalī kār-nāmah (Life of Shibli, a sketch of his academic life and his other activities). A'zamgarh, 1943. 846 pp., in Urdu. A complete biography of Shibli. The author was his closest disciple and student.

Works of Shibli Nu'mani

479. Awrangzib (Emperor of Delhi). Lahore, 1849. 174 pp. in Urdu.
480. al-Fārūq ('Umar al-Fārūq), 2 parts. Lahore (1st ed. 1898), circa 1950. 186+252 pp. in Urdu. Trans. by Moulana Zafar Ali Khan, into English : *Umar the Great*, vol. I. Lahore, Ashraf. 1st ed. 1939, 3rd ed. 1947. 287 pp.
481. Imām A'zam : sīrat al-Nu'mān (Biography of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah). Lahore, n. d. 398 pp., in Urdu. The work was completed in 1893.
- ✓ 482. Islāmī ḥakumat awr Hindustan mēn us-kā tamaddunī athar (Muslim rule and its cultural influence on India). Lucknow, 1925. 28 pp. in Urdu.
- ✓ 483. al-kalām (The creed). Lahore, 1952. 304 pp., in Urdu. This is an attempt to re-interpret the creed of Islam in the light of modern thought. It is a celebrated work on the subject.
- ✓ 484. al-Māmūn, Caliph of Baghdad. A'zamgarh 1926. 244 pp.
- ✓ 485. Maqālat-i-Shibli (Opinions of Shibli), 7 vols. A'zamgarh,

1932-1951. vols II-VII, 103+177+189+138+240+107 pp. vol. I, was not available.

- ✓ 486. Mawlānā Shiblī *kē tārikhī mazāmīn* (Historical articles of Mawlānā Shiblī). ed. by Munshi Abd al-Rahman Shawq. Lahore, n. d. 128 pp., in Urdu. A collection of Shiblī's articles on historical subjects.
- ✓ 487. *Rasā'il-i-Shiblī* (Epistles of Shiblī). Amritsar (1st ed. 1898), n. d. 415 pp., in Urdu. On contemporary politics.
- 488. *Safar nāmāh-i-Rūm wa Shām* (Travel of Turkey and Syria). A'zamgarh, 1940. 247 pp. This is an account of the author's visit of Turkey in 1892, with the object of collecting material for the work *al-Fārūq*. It gives a picturesque description of Constantinople and other cities visited by him.
- ✓ 489. *Shi'r al'ajam* (History of the Persian poets), 5 vols. Lahore, 1934-1949.

Shiblī has written quite a number of works besides those mentioned above. His *Sirat-al-nabi* (Biography of the Prophet Muhammad), in Urdu is a monumental work, and widely known in India and Pakistan.

D. Other works and Periodicals relevant to Modernism and Aligarh movement

- 490. ABDULLAH, S. M. The spirit and the substance of Urdu prose under the influence of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān. Lahore, Ashraf. 1940. 179 pp.
- 491. AHMAD, Rafiuddin. The proposed Muslim university in India. *Nineteenth century* (New York), vol. XLIV, Jul-Dec. 1898. pp. 815-21. The author was a prominent Muslim Politician of India.
- 492. AHMAD, Ziauddin. System of education : in England, Germany, France and India. Calcutta, 1929. The author was a Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh.
- 493. ALI, A. F. M. Abdul. Persian Newspaper (in India), *Muslim review* (Calcutta), vol. I, no. 3. Jan-Mar. 1927. pp. 54-57.

494. ALI, A. yusuf. Education in India. *Nineteenth Century* (New York), vol. L IV, Dec. 1928. pp. 754-56.
495. ALI, A. Yusuf. Life and Labour of India. London, 1907.
496. ALI, Sayyid Wajid. Aligarh memories. *Muslim review* (Calcutta), vol. I, no. 2, Oct-Dec. 1926. pp. 37-50.
497. ALI, (Shah), Sirdar Ikbal. The religious revolt of Turkey. *Review of religions* (London), vol. XXVII, no. 7, Jul. 1, 1928., pp. 23-26.
498. ALI, Maulana Mohamed. My life a fragment, an autobiographical sketch., ed. by Afzal Iqbal. Lahore, Ashraf, 2nd ed., 1944. 273 pp. The author himself being a product of M. A. O. College, Aligarh, says much about its educational system.
499. 'ALĪ, Sayyid Riḍā 'Alī. A'māl nāmāh : sawāniḥ-i-hayāt, k̲h̲ūd mawṣūf kē qaiām sē (Autobiography). Delhi, Hindustani Printings, 1943. 527 pp., in Urdu. The author was a product of M. A. O. College, Aligarh, and took active part in politics around 1900.
500. Anonymous. In memoriam (of) Haji Moulvi M. Samoe-ullah Khan Bahadur, C. M. G. Bombay, The Times Press, 1908. 23 pp. Sami Allah was one of the colleagues of Sir Sayyid and took a leading part in the Aligarh movement.
501. Anonymous. Islamia College opening ceremony. *Muslim review* (Calcutta), vol. I. no. 3, Jan-Mar. 1927. pp. 1-9. Islamia College of Calcutta was established on the model of M. A. O. College, Aligarh.
502. Anonymous, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Memorial Fund. *Spectator* (London) vol. L XXXI, Jul. 23, 1898, p. 115. Campaign to raise a fund in England for the M. A. O. College, Aligarh.
503. Anonymous. The future of the Mahommedan people. *Spectator* (London) vol. L XXVII, Oct. 1896. p. 508. The Muslims are said to be incapable of adapting to change.

504. ĀZĀD, Muḥammad Ḥusayn. History of Urdu poetry, trans. into English by A. H. Harley from Urdu. *Muslim review* (Calcutta), vol. I, no. 3, Jan-Mar. 1927. pp. 47-54.
505. BANERJEE, B. N. Early Persian newspaper in Calcutta. *Muslim review* (Calcutta. vol. I, no. 4, Apr-Jun. 1929. pp. 18-22.
506. BECK, Theodore. Congress (United India Patriotic Association's pamphlet no 2), showing the seditious character of the Indian National Congress and the opinions held by eminent natives of India who are opposed to the movement. Allahabad, Pioneer Press, 1888. 122-XI III pp. It includes the views of the members of Aligarh movement towards the Congress.
507. CHOWDHURY, D. A. Islam in Bengal. *Moslem world*, vol. XVIII, 1928, pp. 147-54. With a map showing the distribution of religious communities in Bengal. The author is a native Christian.
508. CHOWDHURY, D. A. The Mohammedans of Bengal. *Moslem world*, vol. XV, Apr. 1925. pp. 135-39.
509. GIBB, H. A. R. Modern trends in Islam. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1947, 2nd imp. 1950. 136 pp.
510. ḤAQQ, Mawlawī 'Abd al-. Chand ham 'aṣar (A few contemporaries). Delhi, Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdu, no. 103, n. d. 151 pp., in Urdu. ' An account of some modernist. The author is the Head of the Anjuman, and is popularly known as Bābā-i-Urdu (Father of Urdu).
511. HARTOG, P. J. The Indian University. *Annals of the American Academy of political and social sciences* (Philadelphia), vol CXLV, no. 234, suppl. vol. pp. 138-150. Contains a concise account of the Muslim University, Aligarh.
512. JONES, L. Bevan. Educated Moslems in Bengal. *Moslem world*. vol. VI, Jul. 1916, p. 288 ff.
513. KHUDA, Banda. Religious movements in India. *Spectator* (London), vol. LXXV, Jul. 13, 1895. pp. 47-48. This

article reveals the tragic condition of the then Indian Muslim community.

514. KRAMER, H. Islam in India today. *Muslem world*. vol. XXI, Jan. 1931. pp. 151-76. This article was written after a three month's tour of India.
- ✓ 515. LATIF, Sayyid Abdul. Influence of English literature on Urdu literature, London, 1924.
516. MENANT, D. A propos de l' universite Musalmane d' Aligarh. *Revue du monde Musalman* (Paris), Tome XXI, Dec. 1912, pp. 269-89.
- ✓ 517. MUJĀHID, Sharīf al-. Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī ; his role in the nineteenth century Muslim awakening. (Master's thesis at the Institute of Islamic studies, Mc Gill University, Canada). 1954. See especially "Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan : a comparison." pp. 165-220.
- ✓ 518. O'LEARY, De lacy. Islam at the cross-roads : a brief survey of the present position and problems of the world of Islam. London, 1923. 215 pp.
- ✗ 519. PRASAD, Beni. India's Hindu-Muslim question. London, Allen and Unwin, 1946. 152 pp.
520. QADIR, Abdul. Famous Urdu poets and writers. Lahore, New book Society Publishers, 1947. 200 pp.
521. QURESHI, Nasim, ed. *Aligarh Megzin* (Aligarh Magazine). (Lucknow), 1955. nos. 1953-54 and 1954-55. A special number on Aligarh, containing 59 articles on different aspects of the Aligarh movement, in Urdu. There are also special issues of the *Aligarh Megzin* on Ḥālī, Shibli, Akbar Ḥāshabādī, Iqbal and others.
522. RAHMAN, Fazlur. Modern thought in Islam. *Colloquium on Islamic culture in its relation to the contemporary world* (Princeton) Sept. 1953. pp. 91-92. An attempt to assess the intellectual development of Indo-Pakistani Muslims during modern times.
- ✗ 523. SAKSENA, Ram Babu. A history of Urdu literature. Allahabad, Ram Narain Lal Publishers, 1940.
524. SHUJAUDDIN, Khalifa. Religion in Muslim countries with special reference to religious education in India

and Pakistan). *Colloquium on Islamic culture in its relation to the contemporary world* (listed in 522), pp. 39-45. An attempt to assess the present educational problems in Pakistan with reference to the historical background of religious education in Muslim India and Pakistan.

- * 525. TYABJI, Husain B. Badruddin Tyabji. Bombay, Thacker and Co., 1952. 396 pp. A biography of Badruddin Tayyabji, the 3rd president of the Indian National Congress. He was a contemporary of Sir Sayyid, disagreed with the latter in some political matters, but supported the Aligarh movement. This is an important work containing several documentary letters and correspondence, and showing the trend of Muslim political thinking since 1885.

Supplement to the Bibliography of Books and Periodicals Relevant to Modernism and the Aligarh movement

The following works are known to exist but were not available while preparing this bibliography.

526. ḤĀLĪ, Khwāja Aḥṣan Ḥusayn. Masaddas-i-Ḥālī : mad wa jazar-i-Islām (Sestet of Ḥālī : tide and ebb of Islam). 1897. This was composed in Urdu at the suggestion of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. It is a self-criticism of Muslim society.
527. KARĪM, Sayyid ‘Abd al-. Tadhkhīrah-i-Samī‘ Allāh (Memoriam of Samī‘ Allāh). United Province, n. d. in Urdu. This work is about Samī‘ Allāh a contemporary of Sir Sayyid and some times Secretary of the Aligarh movement.
528. MAQBŪL, Muḥammad ‘Uṭhmān, ed. Maktubāt-i-khullān (Correspondence between two friends). 1915. A collection of the correspondence between Sir Sayyid and Muḥsin al-Mulk on different subjects about the Aligarh movement.
- ✓ 529. MORISON, TH. History of the M. A. O. College. 1903.

530. RAḤMAN, Nūr al-. Tadhkirah-i-Sir Sayyid (Memoriam of Sir Sayyid). United Province, n. d., in Urdu.
531. TANHĀ, Muḥammad Yaḥyā. Siyar al-muṣannifīn (Biography of Urdu authors), 2 vols. Delhi, Jāmi'ah Milliyyah Islāmiyyah, *circa* 1928. Vol. II, contains chapters on Sir Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, Nadhir Aḥmad, Zakā Allāh, Ḥālī, Shiblī and others.
532. WARD, G. E. The quatrain of Ḥālī, (trans. into English) Oxford, England, 1904.
533. ZUBAYRĪ, Muḥammad Amīn. Tadhkirah-i-Wiqār (Memoriam of Wiqār al-Mulk). Agra, 1928, in Urdu.
534. ZUBAYRĪ, Muḥammad Amīn. Tadhkirah-i-Sayyid Maḥmūd (Memoriam of Sayyid Maḥmūd). United Province, n. d. in Urdu. Sayyid Maḥmūd was the son of Sir Sayyid, became Secretary of M. A. O. College in 1898.

CHAPTER III

THE AHMADIYAH OR THE QADIYANI MOVEMENT

The Ahmadiyah movement primarily stands for new interpretation of Islam in the light of modern life and thought. Historically, it is an attempt to preserve Islamic culture in India in the face of heretic tendencies which were taking hold of English educated Indians during the second half of the nineteenth century. It also appears to be a type of religious response to the Western challenge and a counter-attack to the Christian missionary activities. The fact that the Ahmadiyah movement based itself on a reinterpretation of Messianic doctrine and certain dogmas relating to the birth and death of Jesus Christ, lends support to this contention (see 154, pp. 277-95 : "The new polemic"). In this respect the influence of the rationalism of Sir Sayyid on the Ahmadiyah is evident, specially in the belief that Jesus Christ was not born without a father (see 151, p. 79 and p. 189 ff.). This movement may also be regarded as a revival of *mahdism* which was not peculiar during the nineteenth century.

Mirzā Ghulām Ahmad of Qādiyan (1835-1908), the founder of this movement was a great scholar in Arabic and Persian. He began writing articles after the age of forty. From childhood he was subject to dreams, mystic voices and the like. In 1882 he claimed to be a *Mujaddid* or religious reformer, and as such he was welcomed by many Muslims. But in 1888, he claimed to have received a revelation from God ordering him to accept *bay'at* or homage from the people. This estranged the general Muslims from his association. He thereupon founded a community called "Ahmadiyah". In 1891 he claimed to be Messiah, Mahdī, and the incarnation of Krishna. He died in 1908.

After the death of the Mirzā, Nūr al-Dīn was made his successor or Caliph. He is known as the "Second Caliph". He died in 1914. Thereafter, the Ahmadiyah sect split up into two sections, one following Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn and Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī and the other, Mirzā Bashīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd

Aḥmad, the eldest son of Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad. The former group have their headquarters at Lahore and Woking-Surrey in England. The latter group have maintained a centre at Qādiyān in India, about seventy miles from Lahore. After 1947, the latter's headquarters have been shifted to Rabwah in West Pakistan. By popular usage, the Lahore and Woking school is more generally coming to be identified as "Aḥmadī" and the Rabwah School as "Qādiyānī".

The Lahore and Woking School were led by al-Hajj Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn (1870-1932) and Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī (1875-*circa* 1952). Both of them were great scholars, and continued the modernist trend started by Amīr 'Alī and Chirāgh 'Alī in the field of the reinterpretation of Islam in the light of modern knowledge.

Mirzā Bashīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aḥmad heads the Qādiyānī, the main group of the Aḥmadiyah Sect since the split in 1914. He has been active in producing books on different religious Subjects. Sir Muḥammad Zafrullah Khan, former Foreign Minister of Pakistan, belongs to this group.

The bibliography which follows is divided into three sections:

- A. General works.
- B. Works relating to the Lahore and Woking group.
- C. Works relating to the Qādiyān and Rabwah group.

A. General Works

535. AḤMAD, Mirzā Ghulām. The philosophy of the teachings of Islām, Washington, D. C., *circa* 1953. 199 pp.
536. AḤMAD, Mirzā Ghulām. The teachings of Islām: an exposition of the beauties of Islam drawn entirely from the Holy Qur'ān in a very lucid form: the real key to eternal happiness. London, Luzac, 1910, 195 pp. Secundarabad, Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Islam, 3rd. ed. 1929. 163 pp. Mirzā Ghulam Aḥmad has produced a number of other works, among them *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyah*; *Fath Islam*; *Izalat-i-awham* and *Nural-Haqq* appear to be most celebrated

(see 554, vol. XXIX, nos. 19-20, May 25, 1950, pp. 7-21).

537. BARNĪ, Salāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Ilyās. Qādiyānī madhhab: fihrist-i-maḍāmīn (awr) Qādiyānī madhhab kā 'ilmī mahāsibah (A list of articles on, and an intellectual assessment of, the Qādiyānī sect). Lucknow, 'Umdat al-Maṭābi', n. d. 36 pp., in Urdu. A list of articles and works about Ahmadiyah movement.
538. DORMAN, H. C. Towards understanding Islam; contemporary apologetics of Islam and missionary policy. New York, 1948. 137 pp.
539. IQBAL, Sir Muhammad. Islam and Ahmadism. Lahore, 1936. 45 pp.
540. PHOENIX, (Pseud). His Holiness : with a forward by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. Lahore, 1935. 368 pp. This is a criticism of the Ahmadiyah movement.
541. WALTER, H. A. The religious life of India : the Ahmadiyah movement. Calcutta, Association Press and Humphry Milford, Oxford University Press, 1918. 185 pp.

B. Works Relating to the Lahore and Woking Group of Ahmadiyah :

Works of Mawlana Muhammad Ali

542. A manual of Hadith. Lahore, n. d. 409 pp.
543. Collection and arrangement of the Holy Qur'ān. Lahore. 1934. 136 pp.
544. History and doctrines of the Bābī movement. Lahore, 1933. 94 pp.
545. Muḥammad and Christ. Lahore, 1921. 159 pp.
546. The Holy Qur'ān : containing the Arabic text with English translation and Commentary. Woking, Surrey, 1917. 1274 pp. A revised ed. has been published about 1952, on the eve of the author's death.
547. The living thoughts of the Prophet Muḥammad. London, 1947. 142 pp.

- 548. The Muslim prayer book. Lahore, 1939. 72 pp.
- 549. The new world order. Lahore, 1944. 148 pp.
- ✕ 550. The religion of Islam : a comprehensive discussion of the source, principle and practices of Islam, Lahore, 1950. 760 pp.

Works of Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn (1870-1932).

- 551. A running commentary on the Holy Qur'ān. Woking, Surrey, n. d. 141 pp. The work was printed at Lahore.
- 552. The ideal Prophet : incorporating a portion of glimpses from the life of the Prophet. Woking, Surrey, 1925,. 274 pp.
- 553. *The Islamic Review* (A monthly journal founded by Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn), Woking, Surrey, England.
- 554. *The light* (A weekly), Lahore, Ahmadiyya Building, West Pakistan.

C. Works Relating to the Qādiyān and Rabwah Group of Ahmadiyah :

Works of Mirzā Bashir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aḥmad :—

- 555. Ahmadiyyat or the true Islam : an authentic document, and exhaustive exposition of the faith of Islam. Washington, D. C. American Fazl Mosque, 1st ed., 1924 ; 3rd ed., 1951. 239 pp.
- 556. Der Heilige Qur'ān : Arabischen-Deutsch. Rabwah, The Oriental and Religious publishing Corporation, 1954. 639 pp. Complete Arabic text of the Qur'ān with German translation.
- 557. Die Versirklichung des Summum Bonum in der Religiösen Erfahrung. Munichen, 1939. 157 pp.
- ✕ 558. The Holy Qur'ān with English translation and commentary. Lahore, 1947-49. 1545 pp. The work is edited by Bashīr al-Dīn.
- 559. The truth about the split. Qādiyān, 1939. 375 pp. For the version of the other side, see 554, vol XXIX,

nos. 19-20, May 24, 1950, 40 pp. The latter is a special number on the history and philosophy of the Ahmadiyah movement.

560. What is Ahmadiyyat : questions answered by the head of the Ahmadiyyah community. Rabwah, 1948. 99 pp.

Other works and Articles

561. BENEDICT: Burton. Succession in Ahmadiyyah movement (A term paper at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University). 1954-1955.
562. MUNIR, M. and Kayani, M. H. Report of the Court of Inquiry constituted under Punjab Act II, of 1954 to inquire into the Punjab disturbances of 1953, Lahore, Government Printings, 1954,. 387 pp. This is an excellent document of the relations between the Ahmadiyah sect and the general Muslims of Punjab. Being a tribunal inquiry into the anti-Ahmadiyah disturbances.
563. ZAFRULLAH KHAN. Muhammad. Moral Principles as the basis of Islamic culture. Washington, D. C. circa 1950. 22 pp.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS, LOYALISM, PAN-ISLAMIC TENDENCIES AND THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT TO 1930.

The Sipahi Mutiny had taken place soon after the Crimean war. To the Indian Muslims these were very significant events which played an important role in moulding their political thought during the second half of the nineteenth century. The British alliance with the Turkish Sultan and the military help rendered for the preservation of the Turkish Empire was in sharp contrast to the atrocious treatment meted out to the Indian Muslims and the Emperor of Delhi following the Mutiny.

Nawab 'Abd al-Laṭīf of the Calcutta Muhammedan Literary Society, "a Muhammedan gentleman of high English Education and keen practical intolligence," had made it a point to plead for the removal of the spirit of *jihad* against the British rulers of India on the basis of "friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of England and His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey" (see 149, pp. 130-31, foot-notes 1 and 2).

It, however, devolved on Sir Sayyid to set loyalism to the British rule as the goal of Muslim politics, which he effectively did even without regard to the relation of the British Crown with the Turkish Sultan (see 425, p. 58 ff.).

The loyalism of Sir Sayyid had roused opposition among some Muslim intellectuals like Shiblī Nu'mānī, especially after the worsening of relations between Great Britain and Turkey during the regime of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909). During this period the calamitous events which befell the Turkish Empire stirred the sympathy of the Indian Muslims for their Turkish brethren. From the year 1895 there were definite traces of

Pan-Islamic tendencies in the political thought of the Muslims of India verging almost on an extra-territorial loyalty to the Turkish Sultan-Caliph. The *khilafat* movement of the nineteen-twenties was the logical outcome of the Pan-Islamic tendencies which remained effective until about 1932. The general trend of Muslim political thought in India may be illustrated by the following articles written by Muslim intellectuals, arranged in chronological order.

564. ISHAQ, Ibn. The future of Islam. *The Arena*, no. XXXIV (Boston, Mass.), vol. VI, Sept. 1892. pp. 389-400. The author regards the claim of the Turkish Sultan to the *khilāfat* almost with contempt.
565. AHMAD, Rafiuddin. A Muslim view of Abdul Hamid and the powers. *Nineteenth Century* (New York and London) vol. XXXVIII, Jul-Dec. 1895, pp. 156-64. Pan-Islamic tendencies are apparent in the article. The author also mentions his visit to Turkey and his interview with Abdul Hamid II.
566. AHMAD, Rafiuddin. The Eastern question. Series no. III : "How the Sultan can save his empire". *Nineteenth Century*, (New York), vol. XXXVIII, Jul-Dec. 1895, pp. 1008-1014. The author advocates drastic reform for the Turkish empire.
567. AHMAD, Rafiuddin. India. Series no. II : Is British Raj in Danger ? *Nineteenth Century* (New York), vol. XLII, Jul-Dec. 1891, pp. 492-500. The author urges that the policy of the Government of India toward Afghanistan be changed, since the British Empire contained the largest number of Muslim subjects. He pleads for loyalty towards the British Government of India. There is also an inclination towards separatism from the Hindu. The author finally expresses general sympathy for Turkey and wishes a closer bond between the British Crown and the Turkish Sultan.
568. AHMAD Rafiuddin. A Muslim's view of the Pan-Islamic revival. *Nineteenth Century*. (New York), vol. XLII,

- Jul-Dec. 1897, pp. 517-26. The author carefully considers the Armenian and Cretan questions, the Christian and the Muslim massacres and the role played therein by British diplomacy (pp. 517 and 519). The diplomacy of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II is appreciated by the author on the ground that he was left with no alternative by the Great Powers (p. 520.). He also reviews the relations between Turkey and Great Britain (pp. 524-26), and the relations between different Muslim kings (pp. 523-24).
569. AHMAD, Rafiuddin. The battle of Omdurman and the Mussulman world. *Nineteenth Century*, (New York), vol. XLIV Jul-Dec. 1898, pp. 688-96. The author considers the fall of the Mahdi of Sudan, and pleads that the Muslim states should take a lesson from this disastrous incident in the military field, and should give up old ideas of invincibility and adopt new techniques. He also pleads for the proposed Muslim University at Aligarh and appeals to the British Government for necessary help; which would make the greatest benefactors of the Muslim world.
570. GHULAM-US-SAQLAIN. The Mussalmans of India and the Armenian questions. *Nineteenth Century* (New York), vol. XXXVII, Jan-Jun. 1895. pp. 926-39. The writer himself being a modernist (p. 928), the article displays definite interest in Pan-Islamism. The author regards England as the greatest Muslim power.

References may be made to the efforts of Nawab Wiqar al-Mulk about the year 1913 towards changing the diplomatic stand of the Indian Muslims from loyalism to the "reliance in the strength of their own arms" (See 151, p. 135) and also to an article: Mohammed Ali, "Le mouvement musulman dans l'Inde." *Revue politique internationale*. Jan. 1914 (Cf. Lothrop Stoddard, *The new world of Islam*, New York. 1923. p. 205, footnote 1).

571. ALI, Syed Amir. The Caliphate : a historical and juridical sketch. *Contemporary Review* (London), vol. 107, Jun. 1915, pp. 681-94. The article appears to have been aimed at attracting the attention of the Big Powers to the necessity of securing the integrity of the Turkish Empire or the "Caliphate"

A reply to this article was written by an anonymous western writer : "The Sultan of Turkey and the Caliphate" *Contemporary Review*, vol. 110, Aug. 1916, pp. 195-205.

572. HOSSAIN, Syud. India and Turkish peace. *Current History Magazine, New York Times*, vol XVI 1920. pp. 80-86. The author was a journalist and took prominent part in politics. He was one of the three delegates sent by the *khilāfat* committee of India to London and Paris in 1920 to put the Indian case before the Big Powers.
573. BAIG, Sir Abbas Ali. Peace with Turkey in its relation to Anglo-Muslim good-will and the *khilāfat*. *Asiatic Review*, vol. XIX, Oct. 1923. pp. 577-86. The author points out that there were two ideals of *Khilafat* movement, viz ,
- (i) "The safeguarding of the position of the khalifah, especially in regard to his wardenship of the Holy places of Islam, and
 - (ii) the bringing about of a just and equitable peace between the allied powers and Turkey."
574. ALI (Shah), Sirdar Iqbal. The Mecca conference (June 7, 1926). *Contemporary Review* (London), vol. 130, sept. 1926, pp. 304-311. The author was an Indian delegate to the conference.

575. ALI (Shah), Sirdar Iqbal. Modernization of Islam. *Contemporary Review* (London), vol. 135, (1929), pp. 202. 67.

The *Khilāfat* movement, especially from 1919 to 1924, tended to bring Muslims into the fold of Indian nationalism. Hindu-Muslim unity was preferred by the *khilāfat* leaders for various reasons, ranging from expediency (see the resolutions of *Jami'at-*

i-Ulama-i-Hind, in 159, pp. 115-16), to patriotism (see 159., p. 92). Some of them thought that such a unity would lend greater weight to the demands of the *khilāfat* Committee, and others genuinely hated the "divide and rule" policy of the British government and were prepared to go to any length to drive the British out of India. Mahatma Gandhi's agreement to lead the *khilāfat* movement in 1919, and his policy of non-violent non-co-operation against the British, had further cemented the good relations between the two communities. For a time Hindu-Muslim unity appeared to be accomplished, until Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī, the unrivalled *khilāfat* leader, began to be disillusioned from 1926 onwards.

Among the leaders of the *khilāfat* movement, Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī and Abū'I-Kalām Āzād played the most prominent roles. Mawlānā 'Ubayd Allāh Sindhī's role was also important, as he represented the Deoband section of the '*Ulama* by virtue of his close relations with Shaykh al-Hind Mawlānā Maḥmūd Ḥasan.

Bibliography in this chapter follows the order given below :

- A. Books and periodicals dealing with *khilāfat* movement.
- B. Bibliography on Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī.
- C. Bibliography on Mawlānā Abū'I-Kalām Āzād.
- D. Bibliography on Mawlānā 'Ubayd Allāh Sindhī.

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578. BUCKLER, F. W. The historical antecedents of the *khilāfat* movement, *Contemporary review* (London), CXXI, May 1922. pp. 603-611. This is a very interesting article and contains fundamental research.

579. *Current History Magazine*, *New York Times* (New York), vols, XV-XXV, contain valuable current reports about the khilāfat movement. See especially the following :

Vol. XV, 1922, p. 427 ff. "India's Mohammedans and Turkey."

Vol. XVI, 1922, pp. 1-8. "India and the Moslem awakening."

Vol. XVI, 1922, pp. 265-278. "The Anglo-Indian-Turkish crisis."

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Vol. XXV, 1926, pp. 278-79. "Mecca conference."

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✓ 580. EDIB, Halide (Halide Edib Adivar). Conflict of East and West in Turkey. Lahore, Ashraf, 1935. 301 pp.

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B. Mawlana Muhammad ‘Alī (1878-1931)

Mawlānā¹ Muḥammad ‘Alī was a product of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, and got his higher education at Oxford. He returned from England in 1902 and joined the civil service of Baroda State. From about 1910 he started a newspaper in English called "Comrade". He was one of the founders of all India Muslim League in 1906. He was a thorough Pan-Islamist and did everything in his power to help the Turkish government in the time of their great crises since 1913. From 1915 to 1919 he was interned along with his brother Shawkat ‘Alī and Mawlānā Abū'l-Kalām Āzād.

From about 1910 he dominated the political scene of the Muslims till his death in 1931, and was the unrivalled leader of the khilāfat movement.

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C. Mawlana Abu'l-Kalam Azad

Abu'l Kalām Āzād is a great theologian. He spent about four years with Shiblī Nu'mānī whose influence on Āzād was decisive. In theology he agrees with Ibn Taymiyah in the latter's belief that in order to reform Islam, the Greek and Persian influences must be purged. He agrees with Shah Walī Allāh

on the "doctrine of abrogation", that is to say, not more than five verses of the Qur'ān may be regarded as abrogated by other verses.

From 1914 he also played an important role in Indian politics. He was instrumental in bringing the Muslims of India, especially the Deoband section of the 'ulama', closer to the Indian National Congress during the *khilafat* movement. His contribution to Urdu literature is considerable.

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D. Mawlana ‘Ubayd Allāh Sindhi (1872-1944)

Mawlānā ‘Ubayd Allāh Sindhī was a Muslim convert from Hinduism. After completing his education at different religious seminaries of Sind he came to Deoband, and became the organizer of Jamī‘at al-Ansār, a political branch of Deoband movement about the year 1910 (see 159, p. 132). He became the principal adviser to Shaykh al-Hind Mawlānā Maḥmūd Ḥasan and during and after the time of World War I, toured the Middle East as his personal representative in connection with the *Khilafat* movement.

In his academic activities, he claimed to be the follower of Shāh Walī Allāh and called himself “Waliyullāhī” (see 188 and 208).

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CHAPTER V

PAKISTAN

Pakistan is the outcome of a long struggle of the Indo-Pakistani Muslims to secure their culture and identity against great odds. Creation of a Muslim state in the Indian subcontinent, with two constituent parts separated from each other by more than one thousand miles, was not merely a theory conceived by a philosopher but an idea which developed in the light of actual political, economic and social experience of about one hundred years.

The herodian loyalism of Sir Sayyid had set the Muslims once again on the line of progress, after the great debasement following the Mutiny. As early as 1858, Sir Sayyid was greatly attracted by the prospect of introducing an impartial rule of law in India. He urged that the natives should be included in the law-making body (see 428, p. 221). "The word liberty," he said "has for us all a spell which causes the heart to beat more strongly, the breast to heave more proudly. When we possess an Indian parliament, legislating mainly for the good of the country, filled by men whose fidelity is beyond suspicion, then shall bright days of India return, or rather brighter days than ever she possessed in her best times" (ibid. p. 225).

This prospect of parliamentary democracy, however, brought difficult problems to the Indian Political scene, especially from 1867 when the Sanskrit language movement of the Hindus threatened the integrity of the Urdu language (ibid., p. 227). Within a short time, he realized that democracy, in the sense of a "majority rule," was not applicable to India. Speaking in 1883, he said, "The system of representation by election in countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed... is no doubt the best system that can be adopted. But, My Lord, in a country like India where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where

religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal and proportionate progress among all the sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election pure and simple for representation of various interest on the local boards and the district councils would be attended by evils of greater significance than purely economic consideration" (see 77, p. 123).

In 1906, an attempt was made by Muslim leaders to secure the Muslim community from eternal subjugation by the majority community three times its size, through separate electorates. This was accorded in the Morley-Minto reform of 1909. This initial success brought the Muslims into practical politics who had kept hitherto aloof from that field (see 161, p. 69 ff.).

The annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1912 compelled the Muslims to change their attitude from "loyalism" to one of struggle for self-government. The first serious attempt was made for a Hindu-Muslim rapprochement in the League-Congress pact of 1916. Both parties agreed jointly on a detailed scheme of reforms as a definite step toward self-government.

The subsequent *Khilafat* and non-violent non-cooperation movements failed, despite the expectations of many, to mould the Hindu and Muslim aspirations into a homogeneous nationalism (161, p. 218 ff). In 1927 the Muslim League demanded a federal government with adequate constitutional safeguards for the Muslims which was turned down curtly by the Indian National Congress. The Congress view was expressed in their formula of "acquisition first and distribution next". Henceforth, the question of federal versus unitary government became the central issue of Hindu-Muslim unity, which engaged the keenest attention of Indian political leaders in the Round Table Conference of 1930-1931.

In 1930 Iqbal sounded the idea of a separate State for the Muslims of north-west India. About 1936 the Muslim League, which had been superceded by the *Khilafat* movement, was revived under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In 1940 the historic Pakistan resolution was adopted by the All India Muslim League. The failure of the plan of the Cabinet Mission for a federal government removed the last hope of an united India. On August 14, 1947,

India and Pakistan emerged as successor independent states of British India.

Since 1947 there have arisen various movements in Pakistan apart from the general modernist trend. One such movement, namely Jamā'at Islāmī (Islamic association), achieved some popularity in West Pakistan. Its main object is to evolve a new culture for Pakistan based entirely on Islamic principles. Another movement, which laid a considerable hold on the students of East Pakistan, was Tamaddun Majlis (cultural association).

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- B. Works and periodicals dealing with Pakistan Movement to 1947.
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See also Appendix A

D. A Selected Bibliography on Jama'at-i-Islami movement

Sayyid Abū'l-Alā Mawdūdī, the founder of Jamā'at-i-Islāmī movement, started as a preacher calling the Muslims back to the simple meaning of the Qur'ān. With a background of a mediaeval type of Muslim scholarship, he displays a peculiarly deep interest in the complicated problems of modern life and its progress. Since 1930 he has produced a good deal of literature on Islamic religion, government and society. He is a staunch supporter of an Islamic state, and discards western culture as incompetent to a homogeneous development of moral, spiritual and material qualities of mankind.

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857. Islām kā nazariyah-i-siyāsī (The political perspective of Islam). Lahore, n. d. 30 pp., in Urdu. An attempt to define the nature of Islamic state, which according to the author, is a theocracy in a qualified sense.
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859. Islāmī-ibadat par ik taḥqīqī naẓar (A critical examination of Islamic worship). Pathankot, n. d. 80 pp. In Urdu. This work displays some influence of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān on the author.
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APPENDIX A

Bibliography of Books dealing with the life and works of Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938).

Iqbal was the first to conceive the idea of creating a separate Muslim state in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent as a means of maintaining the identity of Muslims in the face of uncompromising Hindu nationalism. As a great poet and philosopher, he inspired and channelized Muslim enthusiasm toward achieving Pakistan.

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